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	PAGE
I. THE ART OF BURIAL . . . By Rev. L. C. Casartelli, M.A.	1
II. THE ANCIENT OFFICES OF SOME OF ENGLAND'S SAINTS	
By F. E. Gilliat-Smith .	22
III. THE SOCIAL DIFFICULTY . . . By Rev. John S. Vaughan	41
IV. THE GIFTS OF A PONTIFF . . . By A. E. P. Raymund Dowling . . .	61
V. A VISITATION OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH IN A.D. 1301 . . .	
By the Right Rev. Monsignor Brownlow, M.A. . . .	76
VI. ALEXANDER POPE	
By W. S. Lilly	95
VII. THE EARLY GALLICAN LITURGY (PART II.) . . .	
By Rev. Herbert Lucas, S.J.	112
VIII. TOWN FOGS: THEIR AMELIORATION AND PREVENTION	
By Eric Stuart Bruce, M.A.Oxon., F.R.Met.Soc.	132
IX. MASHUNALAND AND ITS NEIGHBOURS	
By Miss E. M. Clerke .	145

SCIENCE NOTES.

NOTES OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION.

NOTES ON FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

BOOK NOTICES.

REVIEWS IN BRIEF.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I.—THE ART OF BURIAL	1
The importance of the problem—Pre-historic modes of Burial—General conclusions—Aryan origin of Cremation—Philological evidence—The Rig-Veda—Literature of Greece and Rome—The Eranians—Buddhist practice—Semitic races—The Jews—The Phœnicians—The Egyptians—The New World—Africa—Australia and East Indian Archipelago—Conclusions.	
II.—THE ANCIENT OFFICES OF SOME OF ENGLAND'S SAINTS .	22
Roman and Sarum Uses—St. Chad, Responsoria—Psalm Antiphons—Collect—St. Dunstan—Hymn—The Mass—Kyrie Rex Splendens—St. Thomas of Canterbury—The Memorial—Antiphons—St. Osmund—Antiphons—Collect—Services.	
III.—THE SOCIAL DIFFICULTY	41
Discontent among the Working Classes—Not altogether unjustified—Enough for all, if properly distributed—The Earth might support many times its present Population—Russia—North and South America—Australia—Brazil—Africa—Uruea—Land yet to be reclaimed—Even England not sufficiently cultivated—People seek Justice rather than Charity—Their Rights—What?—Inequality desirable, but	

not such extremes as now exist—Liberty—Duty of Government—Tendency of wealth and poverty to grow more intense—Reason given to modify and correct unconscious nature—State's right of Interference—Action on Wealth should resemble the Action of Watt's "Governor" in the steam-engine—Progressive Taxation—Uncultivated Land in Great Britain—Labour should be regulated—Religion Basis of any permanent amelioration.

IV.—THE GIFTS OF A PONTIFF 61

Three kinds of Gift most prominent, that of a Key, a Rose, a Cap and Sword—Custom of sending Key in vogue before close of Sixth Century—Instances of two existing Keys at Maeswicht—Payment of a Rose in Gold made tenure right of an Abbey in Eleventh Century—Time and Ceremony of its Blessing—Gift of Sword placed by some in Ninth Century and Cap in Fourteenth Century—Early Scotch example of latter—Existing Papal Swords and Belts—Other gifts mentioned.

V.—A VISITATION OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH IN A.D. 1301 . 76

The Meaning of a Visitation—Bishops' Mode of Travelling—High Altar and Furniture—Service Books—Risk of Loss—Parochial Dispute—Churchwardens' Account—Complaints—Places in Church—A Careless Vicar—A Visitation at Staverton—Coffinswell—Income of Clergy—Appendix.

VI.—ALEXANDER POPE 95

The actual condition of British Catholics between the Revolution of 1688 and the passing of the First Relief Act, much better, in fact, than the Statute Book would lead us to suppose—Reasons why it was so—Pope's Life and Career of peculiar interest in this connection—He and his friends apparently unmolested on the score of their Religion—It is sometimes said that Pope

was a nominal Catholic. But if that had been so it would not have preserved him from the penalties provided for Popish recusants. As a matter of fact Pope constantly and openly professed the Catholic Religion, in spite of powerful inducements to abandon it—Pope an ill-instructed Catholic. And his practice no more satisfactory than his belief—Pleas in extenuation] of his faults. He was, on the whole, worthy of the reverence and affection with which those who knew him best regarded him—A passionate love of Truth and Justice, the feeling which dominated his Soul—His Religious and Ethical Teaching—Remarks on Mr. Murray's edition of his Works.

VII.—THE EARLY GALRICAN LITURGY. 112

Common Western Origin of Western Rites—Roman and Gallican Mass—The Central Portion of the Mass—Affinity of Prayers to Roman rather than to Eastern Liturgy—The Sanctus and its Accompaniments—The Canon—The Place of the Commemorations—The Liturgy of the Apostolical Constitutions—The Position of the Pax—Considerations which led to the Suppression of the Hispano-Gallican Rite.

VIII.—TOWN FOGS: THEIR AMELIORATION AND PREVENTION . 132

The Increased Dissatisfaction of Londoners as to the Atmospherical Conditions during the Winter Months—The Causes of Fogs—Natural Fogs have their Use—The Evils of Smoke Fogs—Injury to Health—General Inconvenience—Loss of Money—London Fogs are Increasing—For the Amelioration of Town Fogs—Legislation as to Factory Furnaces and Dwelling House Grates Desirable—Vital Principles of a Smoke Consuming Grate—The Possibilities of Electricity for the future Annihilation of Smoke and Fog.

IX.—MASHUNALAND 145

The Recent Crisis—Mashunaland—Its History—Arab, Portuguese, and Zulu Occupations—Military Organi-

sation—King Khama—Lobengula—The British South
African Company—Operations—The Fly-belt—The
Jesuit Mission—Dominican Nuns—The Zulus—
Prospects.

PAGE

SCIENCE NOTICES	167
NOTES OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION	176
NOTES ON FOREIGN PERIODICALS	186
BOOK NOTICES	190
REVIEWS IN BRIEF	235

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I.—OVERLOOKED TESTIMONIES TO THE CHARACTER OF THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES ON THE EVE OF THEIR SUP- PRESSION	245
<p>The moral state of the religious houses no mere speculative question—The evil reports part of the general conspiracy against the Catholic Church— Character of the testimony afforded by the fresh evidence here produced—The accusations of the first royal visitors contradicted by the country gentry—Chief points of interest regarding the individual houses visited—Print of the reports made by the mixed commissions of officials and gentry.</p>	
II.—THE POPES AS PROMOTERS OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.	278
<p>Education in the early monasteries—The transition— “Studium Generale,” “Studium Commune,” “Studium “Universale”—Universities erected by letters patent of the Roman Pontiffs—Those erected by princes and approved by the Popes—Salamanca, Palencia, Seville, Perpignan, Huesca, Alcalá, Upsal, Copenhagen, Cracow, Vienna, Basle, Geneva—The University of Naples—Frederick II.—The Medical School of Salerno —Bologna—Development of the University in that city—Its importance—Paris—The early schools of St. Geneviève, St. Victor, Notre Dame, and St. Denis— Bulæus and his history—Oxford—Cambridge— Various attempts to establish a university in Ireland—Conclusion.</p>	

III.—A MISSIONARY FARM IN BORNEO 294

The island—Physical features—British rule—The British North Borneo Company—Edible birds' nests—Trepang—Trees—Missionary enterprises—The Prefecture Apostolic of Labuan and North Borneo—Communications—Missions at Elopura and at Pampar—A juvenile letter—Father Dunn and the missions of the Rejang—"Long-houses"—Dyak religion—Dyak love of migration—Father Dunn's agricultural scheme—its success—its prospects—its needs.

IV.—ALBI AND THE ALBIGENSIANS 309

Description of Albi—The Cathedral and the Bourg—Early bishops—Simony—Beneficent action of the Roman See—The reforms achieved by the Legate Hugh—Origins of the heresy—Its Neo-Manichaean features—The Henriciens—Religious revival in France—St. Bernard's mission—Mission of Alberic—The Cathari—Their tenets—The siege of Beziers—Action of Innocent III.—The Crusade—Simon de Montfort—The Order of St. Dominic—Establishment of the Holy Office—The cathedral of S. Salvi.

V.—MISERICORDIA OF FLORENCE 333

Causes of the spiritual revival in Italy—St. Francis d'Assisi, St. Dominick—Their work and influence—Churches of Florence—Origin of the Misericordia—The Facchini—Piero Borsi—His proposal and its success—Money collected at the Feast of S. Gioranni—The building of the Oratory—Good works of the Misericordia—First appearance of the plague in Florence—The different plagues which successfully devastated the city—Quarantines in the Middle Ages—Their uselessness—Great Plague of 1630 the last—Great services rendered by the Misericordia during the plagues—The Society adds greatly to its number—Recognition of its good works by the Pope and the rulers of the other Italian States—The Misericordia becomes incorporated with the Society of S. M. del

Bigallo—Decline of the Misericordia—Circumstances which led to revival—Separation from the Order del Bigallo—Establishment in the Church S. Christofano

VI.—THE CHANSONS DE GESTE 346

The Chansons originate with a deeply religious age—Feudalism and the importance of external duties—Examples of devotion to the feudal lord—Position of women—Courtship—Feminine boldness—Scenery—Characteristics of the chansons.

VII.—THE ACACIAN TROUBLES 358

Theory of Rev. F. W. Puller that S. Macedonius and others were "completely" separated from Rome—History of Acacius, on whose account they are supposed to have been excommunicated—His successor, Euphemius, never excommunicated—Acknowledged Papal supremacy—S. Macedonius' supremacy—Hormisdas' formulary—Signed by Bishop of Constantinople—Difficulties about erasing names of Euphemius and S. Macedonius from the Diptychs—Not the same as declaring them excommunicated—During those thirty-five years communion between Rome and the East *suspended*, not completely broken off.

VIII.—PENAL TIMES IN HOLLAND 381

Mr. Lilly on religious liberty in Holland—Views of some Continental historians on this topic—Present state of Catholics in Holland—The systematic persecution they endured for three centuries—Some account of political and ecclesiastical changes in Holland during those centuries—Character of the persecution Dutch Catholics endured—Edicts against priests and against their flocks—Absurdity of some of these edicts, especially of those against pious women—Until the present century religious liberty for Catholics did not exist.

IX.—WARHAM	PAGE 390
<p>An unpublished document—Its origin—Archbishop Warham—Rome and England on the eve of the Reformation—Warham's devotion to the Pope—Præmunire as the weapon of Henry VIII.—Warham is drawn into the conflict—The two Thursdays—Warham's attitude—The Fence of formulæ on the royal supremacy. Convocation's meaning of the proviso—Warham's teaching as to episcopal jurisdiction, and his clear appreciation of the distinction of the two powers—His final determination to stand by his allegiance to the Pope—The document—Appendix—Henry Standish—Bishop-making under Henry VIII.—The record of the consecration and livery of spiritualities in Warham's register.</p>	
SCIENCE NOTICES	421
NOTES OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION	427
NOTES ON FOREIGN PERIODICALS	436
BOOK NOTICES	441
REVIEWS IN BRIEF	490

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JANUARY 1894.

ART. I.—THE ART OF BURIAL.

Geschiedenis en Beschrijving der Lijkbehandeling en Rouwplechtingen bij de meeste Volken. Door Dr. IS. BAUWENS.
Brussel : Polleunis. 1888.

IF my illustrious townsman, Thomas de Quincey, was justified in entitling one of his most famous essays "On Murder as a Fine Art," perhaps I, too, may plead justification for the title I have ventured to give to the present article.

Murder, indeed, may be fittingly described as a "fine art" in the sense that it is not a necessity of human life, but, as the cynic might say, rather a luxury—an unnecessary luxury of civilisation. Burial, on the other hand—or, to put it more exactly, the disposal of the remains of our dead—is pre-eminently a "useful art;" nay, oftentimes one of the most necessary of all. The dead we have always with us. The most cultured nation of the nineteenth century, as well as the most degraded savage horde of Africa or Australia; the men of the earliest dawn of human history at the beginning of the Stone Age, as well as those who shall be on earth long after our own time; of whatever race, tongue, religion, degree of civilisation, epoch of history, or region of the habitable globe; all have been, are, and ever will be constantly face to face with the problem: what to do with the remains of their dead? To say nothing of the philosophical or religious beliefs or theories involved, the mere exigencies of sanitary needs are

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perpetually pressing this problem upon the attention of the survivors. And the more men prosper and multiply, the more great civilisations are built up, the more imperious becomes the necessity for a solution of the problem. And in this man is at once differentiated from the lower animals. Man, it will be remembered, has been ingeniously defined as "the only animal that cooks its food." We may venture to offer yet another definition: Man is the only animal that buries its dead.

So much for the importance of the subject which has recently been dealt with in an exhaustive manner by a Belgian Catholic writer, a physician of distinction, Dr. Isidore Bauwens, the name of whose book stands at the head of this article. His work, entitled "*History and Description of Funeral and Mourning Customs among the Principal Nations*," was published in Brussels in 1888. Unfortunately this meritorious volume has attracted little if any notice, owing to the fact that it is written in Flemish, and so not generally accessible to the reading public. It deserves, however, to be more widely read, for, as far as I can judge, it not only contains a store of really interesting facts, but its able writer has gathered his materials with commendable diligence from the most recent and best authenticated sources, and hence may be relied upon as a trustworthy authority. The present paper is little else than a brief analysis of Dr. Bauwens' book, with a selection of some of his innumerable facts, and, following him, I shall attempt to lay before the reader, in historical form, a sketch of what is known of the various methods of disposing of the dead practised by the chief races of mankind, in ancient as in modern times. The remarks or additions of my own are few and far between. As my task is purely expository, the reader will understand that I do not necessarily commit myself to all the theories or views enunciated by the author, whom I have the pleasure of introducing to English readers.

I.

It may be useful to recall that, according to the conclusions of modern geologists, man made his first appearance on earth during the Quarternary period of geological history, and in that

part of it which is known as the "Palæolithic," or Old Stone Age, from the fact that, in the absence of any knowledge of the metals, these pre-historic races made use of weapons and implements of roughly hewn or split flint. Several races of man, distinguished by the physical characters of their remains, inhabited the greater part of Europe, portions of Asia and Africa, and of North America, during this period. It is customary to distinguish these races by the name of the localities where the most typical specimens of their remains have been found. Let us mention three principal of these: (1) The "Canstadt," or "Neanderthal," or "Spy race," inhabiting especially the valleys of the Rhine and Seine, and probably extending to Italy and Bohemia; men of gigantic stature, dolicocephalous, with low receding brows, and skulls pointed behind, evidently savages of brutal appearance, and contemporaries of the great extinct quadrupeds which once roamed over Europe. (2) In strong contrast to these, the so-called "Crô-Magnon race," inhabiting South-west France, Italy, and the Valley of the Meuse, gigantic in stature, and dolicocephalous like the former, but of handsome and intellectual appearance. These must have existed in Europe long after the Canstadt race, for, at least in the fourth of the progressive stages of their history, which have been distinguished by archaeologists, all the great mammalia, except the mammoth and the rhinoceros, had disappeared, whilst the reindeer browsed peacefully over the greater part of Europe. With these Crô-Magnon men appear, too, the earliest traces of human art, the curious outlines of mammoth or reindeer upon fragments of ivory or horn, which may be seen in some of our museums. (3) Contemporaneous with the race just described, portions of modern Belgium were inhabited by the small, squat, brachycephalic race, very like the modern Lapps, who are perhaps their descendants, known to science as the "Furfooz race."

Now, of *all* the above races of the Palæolithic period—the earliest human races of which Science has been able to find any trace—one broad statement may be made: that they all practised burial of the dead, in many cases with conspicuous care and the accompaniment of tokens of respect and veneration, and that no single trace of cremation in any form appears.

A great gap separates the period we have described from

that known as the "Neolithic" or Polished Stone Age. Great changes of surface have by this time taken place. The sea, which had covered the modern Netherlands, has retired and left the flat country as it now exists. The race of men who occupy Europe has attained a very much higher level of culture. Together with the much finer, polished or worked flint implements, has come in the practice of agriculture and other arts of life.

This is the period, too, of the "Lake Dwellers," who in the lakes of Switzerland, as well as those of Lombardy, Austria, and parts of Germany, built their curious villages, raised on piles above the surface of the water. But what particularly distinguishes the Neolithic period is that it was a time of the great stone buildings, the age of the well-known dolmens, cromlechs, menhirs, barrows, or mounds, scattered over England, Ireland, France, Scandinavia, and North America; and which, as Mr. E. B. Tylor writes, "may be traced in a remarkable line on the map from India across to North Africa, and up to the west side of Europe." I perhaps hardly need remind the reader of the wonderful monument of Stonehenge in this country. It is now pretty well established that nearly all, if not all, these curious stone erections, in their various forms, and under their varied names, were nothing else than funeral monuments, vast graves, sometimes as in the great burial mound of Karlby in Gothland, still containing as many as eighty skeletons. It is remarkable that in the majority of these graves, the bodies are found in the sitting or crouching position, which, as we shall see later on, is so common in many other parts of the world. The bodies of those buried in these structures are generally surrounded with a large number of weapons, ornaments, trinkets, and amulets.

Now, it is to be remarked that though the great stone monuments of this age bear witness to the universality of inhumation, it is precisely in the same period that the first traces of the practice of cremation begin to appear, and this is also true with regard to the Lake Dwellings already referred to. But the practice was undoubtedly as yet only exceptional, and in some cases inhumated bodies and the ashes of those that have been cremated appear in one and the same grave.

Let me here add a remark with reference to both of the

pre-historic periods with which we have already dealt. There are evidences in many sepultures of both the Palæolithic and Neolithic periods that some at least of the races practised that extraordinary custom which is still found among several widely scattered peoples of the present day—that, namely, of stripping the bodies of the dead of the flesh before the burial of the bones, which latter are occasionally found painted with a red colour. The meaning or object of this strange custom, whether ancient or modern, has not, as far as I know, been satisfactorily explained.

I must claim my reader's indulgence for a few moments, whilst I refer in some detail to the remarkable and instructive discoveries of my distinguished friends, MM. Henri and Louis Siret of Antwerp, two brilliant young students of the University of Louvain, whose explorations in the South of Spain a few years ago, as described by themselves before the British Association in Manchester in 1887, caused quite a sensation in scientific circles, so extensive were their discoveries, and so enormous the amount of objects, especially in silver, which rewarded their excavations. Suffice it to say briefly that these discoveries of innumerable traces of pre-historic man, his homes and workmanship, covered the Neolithic period, a period of transition and a metal period. In the transition period, MM. Siret discovered distinct traces of the influences of a foreign invasion, either hostile, or mercantile and pacific, shown by the gradual admixture of bronze with stone implements. It is instructive to observe that together with this introduction of bronze appears also, for the first time, the practice of cremation, leading to the plausible conclusion that the metal and the new practice had one and the same source. It is also noticeable that ornaments are found only with the inhumated bodies, and probably only with females. Of the third or Metal age—so rich in silver that it might almost be called a Silver age—MM. Siret discovered no less than fifteen entire villages, and in these villages they were able to explore with the greatest care as many as 1300 burial-places. The remarkable thing is that during this period all traces of the practice of cremation *had disappeared*. The men of the period had returned to the primæval custom of inhumation; and, strangely enough, the graves as a general rule were beneath the floors of the houses

themselves, a custom not unknown in other parts of the world. In four-fifths of the cases the bodies were found in the crouching, knee-to-chin attitude above referred to, packed in large earthen jars, sometimes with an hermetically sealed cover; sometimes two such jars being joined mouth to mouth, and often two bodies, generally one of either sex, in the same jar. With the bodies, too, were found the remains of food, such as bones of oxen, also copper axes, and quantities of trinkets, especially in virgin silver.*

From all the facts, of which the above is a very meagre summary, Dr. Bauwens, whom I am still following, draws the following general conclusions, namely: (1) To the earliest races the practice of cremation was unknown; (2) This practice came in with the race of the great stone builders, who probably were also the introducers of the first of all known metals, bronze. The question at once occurs, who were these people? Did they constitute one race or many? They must have been a people in whom the passion of wandering was strongly developed, for their structures are to be found in the Crimea, Southern Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, England, Ireland, France, Spain, Germany, Africa, Palestine, India. Even their path may be traced. "It is evident," writes Felitzin, "that the dolmen builders travelled from the eastern to the northern shores of the Black Sea, where the Crimea offers a similar series of buildings." From Scandinavia, too, the dolmen followed the coast of Western Europe to Portugal, turned back by Marseilles, and along the valleys of the Rhone and Saône, eventually reached to near Berlin. Dr. Bauwens, following in this such authorities as Fergusson, Hamard, and d'Estienne, believes that this race was no other than that of the Kelts, or, at least, was an Aryan or Indo-Germanic people. And the same conclusion is pretty generally accepted for the cotemporary Lake Dwellers, whom so eminent an authority as O. Schrader finds to be characteristically Aryan. (See his "Pre-historic Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples," part iv., chap. xi.) If the objection be made that these structures apparently belong to a period considerably before the great

* Mr. James McCarthy, of the Siamese Survey, informed MM. Siret and myself, at the British Association meeting referred to, that similar funeral jars are found in parts of Siam.

Aryan migration, our author answers that it is not at all impossible that detached tribes or hordes of Aryan wanderers, whether Keltic or otherwise, may, even during the earliest portions of the Neolithic period, have found their way into far distant parts of Europe, carrying with them the custom of cremation, as well as the knowledge of metal, to the less cultured or less gifted races among whom they established themselves.

II.

The thesis which underlies the whole of Dr. Bauwens' work is therefore this :

The Aryans were the originators of cremation. All nations of Aryan origin made use of the funeral pyre. . . . On the other hand, cremation was unknown to the non-Aryan races, with the exception of a few peoples like the Japanese and Mexicans, among whom, however, the practice never attained such dimensions as it did with the Aryans.

It must not be thought that this theory is by any means new. Years ago Adolphe Pictet wrote in his "*Origines Indo-Européennes*":

The most evident result of the researches of J. Grimm is that, without any exception, cremation from the remotest period had prevailed over inhumation among the Aryan peoples. The Indians, Greeks, Romans, Gauls, ancient Germans, Lithuanians, and the heathen Slavs, cremated their dead with certain ceremonies, which, in spite of their differences, offer unquestionable traits of agreement. The Eranians alone, on account of the great change which occurred in their religious beliefs, early on abandoned this ancient usage. For the nations of Europe it was Christianity that put a stop to cremation. This latter method of disposing of the dead was never practised by the Hebrews, Arabs, or Mohammedans in general. Such an agreement at once leads us to suspect a common origin dating from before the separation of the Aryans. Indeed, although the custom of burning the dead may be found here and there among other races of men (*e.g.*, Japanese and Mexicans), yet it never attained the same extension as in the Aryan family. The custom, as Grimm has pointed out, must have had its beginning in the earliest times of their pastoral life, before their departure from their nomadic home, for it enabled them to carry with them on their journeys the revered ashes of their dead.

It now becomes of importance and interest to inquire a little more fully into the funeral customs of the Aryans themselves. At this point I must beg to be allowed to decline

entering into the fascinating discussion regarding the cradle-land of our Aryan ancestors, to which some notable contributions were made in this country a year or two ago by Professor Sayce, Dr. Isaac Taylor, and Professor Rendal, of University College, Liverpool, on the one side, and by Professor Max Müller on the other.* The question, however, will not directly affect our present investigation.

To return : the evidence for the prevalence of cremation among the earliest Aryans before their separation is twofold : from language and from custom. On the philological side it is curious that the first and strongest evidence is furnished by the language of that very branch of the Aryan family which we know to have abandoned both cremation and inhumation from religious motives, namely, the Eranians. For the very name of the repositories for their dead which is to be found in their sacred book, the Avesta itself, and which has survived unaltered among their descendants up to the present day, is *dakhma*, clearly referable to the well-known Aryan root *dah*, to burn, and therefore originally signifying nothing else than "a burning place." A curious analogy is furnished by the Keltic, wherein, we are told, the word *adnacul*, or *adhnachd*, signifies burial-place, whilst a comparison with the negative adjective *neph-adhnachte*, "unburnable," shows that the original meaning of the word also involves the idea of cremation.

The Latin *funus*, again, seems clearly connected with the root *dhā*, appearing both in Sanskrit and in the Latin *fumus*, "smoke." The connection, again, of *bustum*, signifying a tomb, with the old verb *buro* (still preserved in the compound *comburo*) is self-evident. It is suggested, moreover, that the Greek *θῦμνος* may be connected with the root *dhā* above referred to, and some writers have seen in *σῆμα* (a mound or barrow, grave or gravestone, or also any mark or sign) the analogue of the Sanskrit *kshāma*, burning, from the root *kshā*.

If we now turn to what literature and history have preserved us of the funeral customs of the ancient civilised Aryan nations, especially the Hindus, Greeks, and Romans, we shall find a superabundant amount of material from which we can only afford time to glean a very few particulars.

* The best summary of the controversy and the most satisfactory refutation of the theories of European origin are to be found in several publications of the Rev. Père van den Gheyn, S.J.

The Rig-Veda contains plentiful details of the funeral ritual in use among the early Aryan conquerors of India. From it we learn how the funeral pyre was built of carefully chosen and valuable woods, especially the *dēva-dāru* (deodar, or divine tree). When the body, carefully prepared, had been reverently laid upon the pyre, the attendants thrice walked to the left around it—the so-called *prāsavya* rite, whose object was apparently to drive away evil spirits. When the fire had been set to the pile, a black cow or a black goat was brought forward and sacrificed, and the priest placed a kidney of the victim in each hand of the corpse, reciting meanwhile a verse from the Veda praying for the safe journey of the deceased in the nether world, and his protection from the two dread hounds of Yama. At this moment the widow stepped up to the pyre and laid herself down beside her husband. She was not, however, in Vedic times suffered to burn; for she was called away in the words of a Vedic hymn (R. V., x. 18, 8): “Rise up, O woman! come back to the world of the living! Thou art lying by one who is dead. Thy marriage with him is at an end.” The cruel custom of “suttee,” as it became called, or widow burning, so prevalent for centuries all over India, and which our Government has had so much difficulty in repressing, is an abuse of later date, and utterly repugnant to the precepts and spirit of the most sacred of the Indian books. Strange to say, like an inverted pyramid, the whole vast structure of centuries of inhuman cruelty rests for its authority upon a single textual corruption, namely, the substitution of an *n* for an *r* in R. V., x. 18, 6 (*agneh* for *agre*). Finally, when, after the recital of many hymns, the body had been entirely reduced to ashes, these were carefully gathered together and enclosed in an urn called *kumbha*.

I will not weary the reader with many details about the parallel descriptions to be found in the classical literature of Greece and Rome. The building of the funeral pyre as described by Homer and Virgil will occur to all, as also the triple running round the pile:

Αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
τρίς περὶ χαλκείους σὺν τεύχεσι διηθέντες
τύμβῳ ἐνεκτερεῖζαν.*

* Apollodorus of Rhodes, *Argonauts*, i. 1059 (compare *Iliad.*, xxiii. 13; *Odys.*, xxiv. 68; *Virgil, Aen.*, xi. 188).

Again, the slaughtering of black cattle occurs as an incident in the funeral rites of Greeks and Romans (*e.g.*, Aen., v. 97; vi. 243). Instead of the kidneys given by the Hindus, the Greeks put honey cake in the hands of the deceased, with which to pacify Pluto's three-headed hell hound, Cerberus. The funeral urns of Greeks and Romans are too well known to need further comment.

After speaking thus in detail of the crematory rites of the ancient Aryan peoples, it is curious to be reminded that in all probability, even among them, inhumation originally preceded cremation. Not only so, but it appears that the two rites existed side by side in Vedic times, and such is the conclusion of no less eminent authorities than Grimm, O. Schrader, and Zimmer. The last-named points out that the hymn R. V., x. 16, describes the disposal of the dead by cremation, whilst R. V., x. 18, describes the same by inhumation. Perhaps, as Pictet surmised, cremation was practised chiefly for the rich and noble, whilst the commoner folk had to be content with ordinary earth burial.

If we may believe the testimony of Plutarch and Aelian, burial in the earth was the earliest method of disposing of the dead among the Greeks. During the Trojan war cremation seems to have become general, but, according to the legend, Herakles was the first to burn a body and preserve the ashes in an urn. In Homer the heroes are cremated with great pomp and ceremony, whilst the common warriors, as in Virgil, are merely buried. In 888 B.C. the practice of cremation was condemned by Lycurgus. Under Solon, in 600 B.C., burial in the earth appears to be the ordinary Athenian custom. According to Thucydides, the Pythagoreans committed the remains of their deceased to the earth, and the heroes who fell at Marathon (490 B.C.), as well as those slain at Plataea, were also reverently committed to the earth. In fact, the nearer we approach the Christian era the more abundant become the evidences that inhumation was again steadily supplanting the practice of cremation.

With reference to the old Romans, we have the explicit tradition preserved by Pliny—*ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti; terra condebantur* (L. vii. c. 54), a testimony confirmed by Cicero, *De Legibus*, ii. 22. In fact,

the early Romans, like the silver workers in pre-historic Spain, actually buried their dead beneath the hearths of their houses. It is evident, however, that from very early times both cremation and inhumation were practised side by side, for the Laws of the XII. Tables contain the expresse sanitary regulation: *hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito*. That burial was esteemed honourable, and, indeed, preferred by the noblest families during the palmy days of the Republic, appears from the magnificent graves along the Via Appia wherein during our own times the entire bodies of many of the Scipios, notably of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (Consul 298 B.C.), have been discovered (A.D. 1870). The custom of cremation appears to have been rendered popular by Sulla, who ordered the cremation of his own body, probably to prevent its being exhumed and dishonoured after the manner in which he had treated the remains of his great rival, Marius. From that time onward, and particularly under the Empire, cremation gained the upper hand, until, as in other parts of Europe, it was swept away by Christianity.

III.

I have above referred to the peculiar position taken up in this matter by one of the most celebrated branches of the Aryan family, I mean the Eranians. It is true that, as the word *dakhma*, already quoted, bears witness, cremation was in common vogue among them in their earliest times. It is also true that the Achaemenid kings of ancient Persia, Cyrus and his successors, were buried in the earth. But it is likewise true that to that branch of the Eranian people which adopted the religious reform of Zarathustra or Zoroaster, both inhumation and cremation were utterly abhorrent. In their dualistic system, earth and fire were sacred elements, belonging to the realm of the good principle, Ahura Mazda. Death, on the other hand, caused the possession of the human body by the impure demon, Naçus, one of the spirits belonging to the legions of the evil principle, Aûro-Mainyus. Hence the contact of a corpse was polluting in the highest degree, and to allow it to sully the elements of fire, or earth, or water, was a sacrilege of the gravest kind. Strange indeed was the

method excogitated by the Mazdean theologians for escaping from this dilemma—the same, indeed, as that practised by their lineal descendants, the Parsis of Bombay, at the present day. The bodies of the deceased were exposed in such a manner that the “four-footed or two-footed scavengers of Ahura-Mazda,” dogs, namely, and birds of prey, might consume all the soft portions of the human frame, and this stripping of the bones and leaving them clean and white, was held to be a process of purification. It is not unlikely that the Eranians borrowed this strange custom from some of their Turanian neighbours, for there are still forms of it in use among some of the Mongolian peoples, notably in the Steppes of Tibet. The rite above described may be seen to the present day, scrupulously observed in all its fulness, in the so-called Towers of Silence, the *dakhmas* of the Parsis, outside of Bombay. In a paper contributed in 1890 to the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, and since republished in a small pamphlet on “The Marriage and Funeral Customs of Ancient Persia,” I venture to think that I have satisfactorily cleared up certain difficulties surrounding the passage in the Avesta (Vend., vi. 49–51), which contains the authoritative directions of the legislator for the disposal of the dead. I think I have shown that, after the body had been thus stripped of its fleshy parts, the skeleton was to be carefully deposited in one of three kinds of receptacles, either in stone urns, or in concrete urns, or in cloth bags. Only in case of poverty, when the above *astodāns* or bone receptacles could not be procured, were the bleached bones to be left exposed on the bedding of the deceased in an elevated place.

Another of the great Aryan religions has played an important part in influencing funeral customs in the Eastern world. One of the most famous cremations on record is that of Buddha, and Buddhism has always adopted cremation as its special method of disposing of the dead. Hence it would appear that the spread of Buddhism has been the cause of the spread of cremation also in Ceylon, Siam, Burma, &c. In China, however, except in Buddhist monasteries, the custom has not succeeded in supplanting the old Chinese rite of committing the dead to mother earth. In fact, it may be said that the Chinese are pre-eminently a nation of earth-buriers, and it is

well known what enormous importance even those who have emigrated to America attach to the privilege of having their mortal remains restored to their native soil.

A very interesting MS. work on "Ladak (or Little Tibet) and Ladaki Buddhism," by Father Henry Hanlon, of Leh, which has been placed in my hands for publication, contains some exceedingly curious details of the funeral customs of that Tibetan country. The writer tells us that the *phos-spun*, or hereditary undertaker, ties up the corpse with ropes in the crouching knee-to-chin attitude, already referred to, in as small a space as possible. After several days of elaborate religious rites, the corpse, shrouded in a cotton bag, is carried on the back of the chief mourner to the cemetery, where it is eventually burned in a kind of oven, amid ritual chanting.

The reading and chanting continues until the first bone falls from the smouldering pyre; this bone is taken to the religious room in the house of the deceased, and pounded into dust, which is mixed with clay and moulded into a small image called *thsathsä*. If the deceased was wealthy, a large cenotaph, *chorten*, is erected to receive the *thsathsä*. The poor deposit their image in old cenotaphs.

The following passage is also significant :

In districts where wood is scarce, the bodies are exposed to be devoured by eagles and ravens. According to General Cunningham, in Greater Tibet the dead are cut up and thrown to the dogs; this is called a "terrestrial funeral." But when the bones are bruised and mixed with parched corn, which is made into balls and thrown to the dogs, this is called a "celestial funeral."

It will at once occur to the reader that, as we have hinted above, these details of the funeral rites of Central Asia probably serve to indicate whence the Eranians borrowed many of their strange and exceptional customs as recorded in the "Avesta" and subsequent literature.

But we are wandering somewhat from our subject. Let us return for a moment to the Aryans. Among the ancient Gauls, as with the more civilised of their sister races, both cremation and inhumation were practised. The same may be said of the Germans and the Scandinavians, but with all these, particularly with the last named, yet a third method was employed, that of water-burial. Sometimes, as in the case of the Visigoths under Alaric, they buried their dead in the beds of

rivers in order to preserve them from exhumation and desecration by their enemies. In other cases water-burial was a result of the maritime predilections of the seafaring races. The corpse, bound round in woollen garments, and surrounded with all kinds of ornaments and implements, was laid out in a boat and afterwards sunk out at sea. Sometimes again these sepulchral boats were buried in the earth itself. For English readers I can recommend on this interesting subject of Scandinavian burial the beautifully illustrated work of Mr. Paul du Chaillu, entitled "*The Viking Age*" (London, 1889; see vol. i. chap. xix.). Boat-burial, however, is by no means confined to the Scandinavians, but is to be found up and down the world among the most different races.

IV.

As in so many other things, the Semitic races present a striking contrast to their Aryan neighbours in this question of the disposal of their dead. If the Aryans on the whole may be called a cremating race, and probably even the originators of cremation, the Semites are distinctively a non-cremating, an earth-burying race. This is emphatically true of their great empires in antiquity. Modern research has shown that the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires had their great burial-grounds in the ancient land of Lower Chaldea, the plain that lies to the north of the Persian Gulf, especially at Warka and Mugheir. Indeed, the whole region may be called a vast cemetery, and every hill from Mugheir to the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates is an accumulation of graves. In all these Chaldean burial-places the bodies, like those of the prehistoric inhabitants of South-west Spain, are enclosed in great jars of earthenware, a custom, for the rest, which is also to be found in many parts of America, in Japan, and in Africa.

Peculiar interest, of course, attaches to the manners and customs of the people of Israel; and it has been maintained that cremation was not only in use, but also was held in honour, among them. This contention is not, however, borne out by an examination of Biblical history or antiquity. On the contrary, the Sacred Records show that from the time of the patriarchs onward, the practice of burial was universal

It is maintained that the bodies of Saul and his sons were burnt (1 Kings xxxi. 12, 13). Jeremiah, too, says to Zedekiah, "Thou shalt die in peace, and according to the *burnings* of thy fathers the former kings that were before thee, so shall they burn thee" (Jer. xxxiv. 5). But even if we were to grant these cases of the cremation of some of the kings, it is evident from the overwhelming testimony of the other portions of Holy Scripture that, in the vast majority of cases, the deceased of the chosen people, especially their patriarchs, prophets, and kings, were buried, not burned. As a matter of fact, however, in spite of the agreement of the Vulgate with the Anglican A.V. and R.V., the above texts are merely instances of mistranslation. There is excellent lexicographical authority to show that the verb שָׂרַף translated above by "burn," really signifies here not to cremate, but, constructed as it is with the preposition לְ—in other words, with the dative—to burn incense in honour of a person, a meaning strongly borne out by the parallel passages in Chronicles, *e.g.*, 2 Chron. xvi. 14, "And they buried (Asa) in his own sepulchres which he had hewn out for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours, and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecary's art, and they *made a very great burning* (שָׂרַף) for (לְ) him." It is a very strong confirmation of this view that in all these passages the LXX. translates the verb in question by ἔκλαυσαν—they mourned or lamented. The testimony of written records is supported by the numberless ancient graves still to be seen in every part of the Holy Land, and especially about Jerusalem, to mention only Makpelah, the grave of the fathers; the well-known burying-place of the kings, and the graves of the prophets in the sides of the Mount of Olives. We are, therefore, justified in concluding that the Jews are no exception to the general rule that the Semites were essentially a burying and not a cremating race.

We cannot now make quite as broad a statement with reference to that other celebrated branch of the Semitic family, I mean the greatest mercantile nation of antiquity, the Phœnicians. It has hitherto been universally admitted that the Phœnicians never burnt, but always buried their dead, generally, indeed, in curious coffins of human form. However,

the year after the publication of Dr. Bauwens' work a curious discovery has been made at Sûs in Tunis, the site of the ancient city of Hadrumetum. It is that of a large Punic necropolis, in which the funeral chambers, instead of containing, like other Phœnician burial-places, entire skeletons, are filled with large earthenware jars containing bones of men, women, and children, all of which have been calcined, like those found in the burial-places of the Romans, who, as we know, practised cremation. Punic inscriptions on several of the jars leave no doubt as to their origin. At the same time this discovery stands alone as a unique exception; and the fact that the date of the necropolis appears to be only just anterior to the Roman domination, or even contemporaneous with its commencement, renders it highly probable that the exceptional usage is due to Roman influence, and therefore deprives the case of some of its importance.

I think I shall not need to say much of the next great people of antiquity who now claim our attention. Of all ancient nations the Egyptians are certainly those who devoted the most elaborate care to the burial of their dead. Need I remind my readers of the universal custom of the embalming of the bodies of both rich and poor, an operation in the case of the former of a most costly nature; or need I again enter into a description of those most gigantic of human structures, the pyramids, which were nothing else but the burial-places of the Egyptian kings? But this is not all. Not only was embalming and burial the exclusive funeral rite of the empire of the Pharaohs, during all the long series of their dynasties, but in the mind of the Egyptians cremation was regarded as the greatest of dishonours, as the cruellest of punishments that could be inflicted on a human being, a belief closely connected with the tenets of their religion, which taught that the destruction of the body would destroy the possibility of a future resurrection (Ebers, "*Aegypten*," p. 334).

Neither time nor space will allow us to follow our author in his minute and exhaustive study of the various other peoples, civilised and uncivilised, of ancient and modern times. We must content ourselves with a few exceedingly summary remarks and a selection of one or two of the more striking or curious details.

V.

The most interesting section, I think, is that which treats of the New World. We have already remarked that, as in Europe so in America, man made his appearance as early as the Quarternary epoch. Slight indeed are his traces during the early or Palæolithic age, but when we arrive at the period of polished stone and the introduction of metals (in America copper, not bronze), we find the whole of the New World covered with great structures, analogous to the great stone buildings of the Old World. In America these are called "mounds," and the race who built them are known as the "mound builders." They offer this peculiarity that they are generally constructed in the form of men, quadrupeds, reptiles, or birds. They are more or less rare in South America, but extremely numerous in the North. They occur all along the valley of the Mississippi as far as the Gulf of Mexico, and stretch across from Texas to Florida and South Carolina. Their number diminishes as they approach the Atlantic; they are rare in the Rocky Mountains, and scarcely to be found in British North America. Great numbers of them were certainly burying-places, in some of which the corpses have evidently been flesh-stripped before inhumation. At the time, as in Europe, although in the majority of the mounds the bodies are found entire, yet there are occasional traces of the use of cremation, specially in the island of St. Catherine on the coast of Georgia; but, as we have also seen to be the case in Europe, this cremation appears to have been introduced together with the use of metals. Passing now to historical times we find, at least, five different methods of disposing of the dead which are, and have been, in vogue among the different races of the continent. These are:

(1st) Inhumation, or earth-burial, by far the most common method in all parts of the continent. This burial is carried out either in graves or pits (the commonest of all, *e.g.*, Mohawks, Crees, Seminoles, Comanches, &c.), or in towers (New Mexico, Sioux, Apaches, &c.), in stone coffins (Tennessee, Kentucky, Central America, &c.), in mounds (chiefly in Ohio, Illinois, North Carolina), in wigwams (some tribes of Carolina, Navajos

[No. 9 of Fourth Series.]

B

of New Mexico, Arizona, &c.), or in grottoes (particularly Utah, Colorado, Calaveras in California).

(2nd) Embalming among some tribes of Virginia, Carolina, and Florida, but particularly, of course, among the Incas of ancient Peru, whose mummies have been discovered by thousands during the present century. These Peruvian mummies are generally found in the crouching, knee-to-chin attitude.

(3rd) A method which may be said to be characteristic of America is what we may call "tree-burial" and "platform-burial." Many of the Red Skin races place their dead in hollow trees, others, and especially the great Sioux race, expose them on a kind of platform fastened to the top of trees, where they are slowly dried up or decomposed by the sun and the elements.

(4th) Water-burial, though this is extremely rare, and found only in one or two tribes.

(5th) Cremation: Here and there in North America the practice of cremation is to be found among some tribes of British Columbia and California, the Tolkotins of Oregon, and others. Among the Tolkotins the usage was combined with an extremely peculiar custom, existing also among the Carriers: it is that whilst the ashes of the cremated body were reverently buried, the larger bones were picked out, and placed in a bag which the widow was obliged to carry on her back for some years! * But the race of cremators *par excellence* of the New World were the great Aztec nation and their kindred tribes of the mighty ancient Mexican Empire. Though here again cremation was reserved for the royal family, and perhaps the nobles, inhumation being the lot of the common people. What distinguishes these Aztec cremation rites from all others is the almost incredible barbarity in which they were carried out. Innumerable human sacrifices accompanied the incineration of the kings. At that of Ahuítzoll in 1487, no less than 80,400 human beings were slaughtered round the funeral pyre, and their skulls employed for the decoration of the temple! But these terrible massacres were only in keeping with the other

* This custom (which actually gave their name to the "Carriers") has now long been abolished. See Father Morice, O.M.I., on "Carrier Sociology and Mythology," Transactions Royal Society of Canada, 1892, pp. 111, 112.

barbarous rites of the Aztec religion, which yearly demanded the slaughter, and even the eating, of tens of thousands of human victims.

Passing now from the New World to the Dark Continent, we must repeat what has already been stated for other parts of the world—namely, that the remains of pre-historic man in this part of the world show that inhumation was the primeval custom, and that the use of cremation made its appearance as elsewhere with the introduction of metals. But it has always remained an exceptional usage among the peoples of Africa, and so it is at the present day. Generally speaking, Negroes, Bantus, Kaffirs, Hottentots, Bushmen commit the bodies of their dead to mother earth. It is unfortunately true that in some of the native kingdoms, especially of the West Coast, the funerals of the chieftains are accompanied with atrocities in the form of human slaughter which well-nigh approach those of the ancient Aztecs of Mexico. But it may be laid down as a general result that through the length and breadth of the African continent inhumation as opposed to cremation is practically universal.

Among the Australian tribes almost every conceivable variety of method is employed in disposing of dead bodies, and similar diversities exist among other peoples of Oceania. Here, too, as in many regions of Africa, cannibalism prevails to a terrible extent, and may actually be reckoned as one of the current methods of the disposal of the dead.

With regard to the East Indian Archipelago and the adjoining regions of the Asiatic continent, it may be remarked that wherever Buddhism has spread cremation is in vogue, and as Buddhism is an essentially Aryan form of religion, we have here one more testimony to the Aryan origin of cremation.

VI.

It will perhaps occur to my readers that, in the foregoing hasty summary of the funeral rites of the principal peoples of the world, I have scarcely noticed many of the customs which almost universally accompany one or the other rites in both ancient and modern times. Some of these customs may be briefly mentioned here.

(1st) The well-nigh universal practice among both civilised and uncivilised peoples of burying with the bodies of the deceased all kinds of weapons, utensils, and ornaments, often those of a most valuable kind ; similarly, the placing beside the corpse various supplies of both food and drink.

(2nd) The extensively practised custom of burying with the deceased, either alive or slain, his favourite horse or hounds.

(3rd) The analogous slaughter at the grave, or burying alive, of the wives or slaves of the deceased, in some instances, as we have already seen, assuming the proportions of a veritable massacre. It may be stated generally that the *raison d'être* of the above usages has been in all ages one and the same—namely, a belief that the disembodied spirit in the next world will require for its happiness all those objects, animals and attendants, to which the living man was accustomed in this world.

(4th) A custom found here and there among races most widely separated, in both time and space, of *eating* portions, or the whole, of their deceased relatives or friends. I will not here shock the reader with details of the disgusting practices to which this curious usage has given rise in certain parts of both the Old and New Worlds ; suffice it to say that it seems to have had its origin, not in any natural cruelty or brutality, but in a widely spread idea that by this means the good qualities of the deceased could be assimilated by the survivors who consumed them.

(5th) I have more than once referred to the strange custom of *flesh-stripping*, either by means of dogs and birds, or by man himself. It may be added here, that in Siam there is a strange combination of this repulsive rite with cremation itself. I have read few more disgusting descriptions than that by the Catholic missionary, Abbé Chevillard, an eye-witness, in his interesting little book, "Siam et les Siamois" (Paris, 1889, pp. 70-72), of the scene at the crematory, near Bangkok, where the *sapareu*, or professional corpse-butcher, is busily employed in slicing the fleshy parts from the corpse for the benefit of the dogs and vultures around. Here, however, as Siam is a Buddhist land, the fleshless bones are afterwards cremated.

One conclusion, indeed, may be drawn from all these

strange, fantastic, repugnant, or even cruel rites—they each and all bear witness in their way to the universal belief of man, even when most degraded, in his own continued existence in a future life.

VII.

Let us conclude with the following brief statement of the general results of our investigation :

1. The primeval method of disposing of the bodies of the dead was, in all parts of the world, that of inhumation, or earth-burial.

2. The custom of cremation is, relatively speaking, of recent origin, and apparently contemporaneous with the introduction of the use of metals.

3. There is good reason for considering cremation to be characteristic of, if not originated by, the Aryan or Indo-European race, and its extension to other peoples has been chiefly due to Aryan migrations, and particularly to two great Aryan religions—viz., Brahmanism and Buddhism.

4. Although both language and comparative customs show that cremation was very extensively practised by the Aryans, even before their dispersion from their original home, yet their own traditions in most cases assert that inhumation was with them anterior to cremation. Also, that during the classical times of Hindus, Greeks, and Romans, even during the palmy days of cremation, earth-burial was in vogue at one and the same time, and held in equal honour with cremation. In Greece, we have shown historically that cremation gradually died out, and the primitive use of burial once more prevailed.

5. With the great civilised non-Aryan peoples of antiquity, cremation was repugnant to both their national customs and their religious beliefs ; and the same may, on the whole, be fairly asserted of nearly all the non-Aryan peoples, civilised or uncivilised, of the present day.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

ART. II.—THE ANCIENT OFFICES OF SOME OF ENGLAND'S SAINTS.

TWO fair gardens of equal beauty and almost equal dimensions, whose beds and borders and emerald turf are alike shaped and fashioned after the same pattern! Both are redolent with the same sweet perfumes and lovely with the same rich colours, for nearly all the trees and blossoming plants and shrubs which have found a congenial home in the one, luxuriate also in the other. Such are the liturgical uses of Rome and of Sarum.

Some curious old-world herbs and flowers, it is true, there are, scattered about here and there, which alone are to be found in Salisbury's garden; and it is our intention, in the following pages, to lay a few of them before the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW.

We have culled them from the offices of four typical English saints—Chad, the missionary, who represents, so to speak, the embryonic period of the Church in England; Dunstan, the great ecclesiastical statesman, whose name is so intimately associated with the last glories of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, and who for more than a hundred and fifty years held the first place in the kalendar of England's saints; Thomas Becket, the hero whose more tragic end at length eclipsed, in some measure, the memory of Dunstan's greatness; and, finally, Osmund, the glorious pontiff, to whom Salisbury owed her liturgy.

S. CHAD.

If the number and the richness of the offices of S. Chad, contained in the Great Breviary of 1531, be any gauge of his popularity in England at the period when that volume was issued, there can be little doubt that the lapse of nigh on a thousand years* had been powerless to obliterate from the memory of the English people the noble deeds and blameless life of the simple, lowly monk of Lindisfarne.

* Literally 861 years. S. Chad died March 2, A.D. 670.

The whole tenour, indeed, of his special services seems to bear out this conclusion. Lesson, antiphon, respond, and verse tell the same tale—the efficacy of his prayers, the wondrous virtue of his relics, the mighty deeds still performed at Lichfield, both at the Church of St. Mary, where his bones were first laid to rest, and at St. Peter's, where they were afterwards translated.

It is the Venerable Bede who, in the special nocturn lessons of his great festival (March 2nd), spreads out before us, in all its beauty, the life and character of the man. He tells us of his piety, of his mastery over self, of his zeal in missionary labour, and, above all, of his sweetness and his wonderful humility.

When Archbishop Theodore, during his first visitation, pointed out that Chad was not the rightful Bishop of York, to which See he had been appointed during the absence of St. Wilfrid, who, it seems, had received prior consecration, "If," he said, "thou knowest that I have not been duly consecrated, gladly will I yield up this office, for I never thought myself worthy of it, but for the sake of obedience, being ordered thereto, I consented, although unworthy, to undertake this charge."

Such was his love of poverty, that on his frequent mission journeys throughout the vast diocese of Lichfield, over which, later on, Theodore set him to rule, he always went on foot, nor would he consent to ride, until one day the Archbishop, with his own hands, lifted him on to a horse.

In everything, even in the least movement of inanimate nature, he saw the finger of God :

If perchance, while he was reading or busied with some other occupation, a sudden gust of wind arose, he forthwith invoked God's mercy, and besought Him to have pity on the human race. But if he heard a more violent blast, then, closing his book, he straightway fell on his face, and earnestly betook himself to prayer. But if there was a hurricane, either of thunder or of snow, then, going to the church, with mind intent on psalm and supplication, he there remained until the storm had passed. And when his servants asked him why he did these things, "Have ye not read?" he used to say, "The Lord thundered out of Heaven, and the Most High gave forth His voice; He shot out His arrows and scattered them; He multiplied lightnings and discomfited them. For the Lord troubleth the atmosphere, He raiseth up winds, He hurleth His lightning,

He thundereth in the heavens, that He may stir up the inhabitants of the earth to fear Him, that He may recall their hearts to the memory of the last judgment; that He may scatter their pride and discomfort their presumption by calling to mind that dreadful day when heaven and earth shall be burnt, and He Himself shall come in the clouds, with power and majesty, to judge the quick and the dead. And therefore it behoveth us to answer to His heavenly admonition with due fear and love, and as soon as He troubleth the air and stretcheth out His hand, as it were, threatening to strike, immediately to implore His mercy, and having searched the innermost recesses of our hearts, and purged away the dross of iniquity, to be very solicitous not to do anything worthy of punishment."

The legend of his death is simply and most beautifully told. Seven days before the end Chad happened to be alone with a certain monk named Oswyn, in the house which he had built hard by the Cathedral. The Bishop was praying in his oratory, and Oswyn was probably engaged with some household labour, for the rest of the brethren were at church, when suddenly the sound of distant music filled the monk's ears, the voice of singers singing sweetly and rejoicing together seemed to descend from heaven to earth, and to enter the little chapel where Chad was rapt in prayer, and then, after the space of about half an hour, the same joyous canticle seemed with ineffable sweetness to waft its course heavenward by the way which it had come. The Lord had sent a band of angelic spirits to console the aged pontiff, and to warn him that in seven days he should receive that heavenly guerdon which he had ever longed for and ever loved. And so it came to pass as had been foretold, for on the seventh day after the vision, when he had fortified his departure by the reception of the Body and Blood of Christ, he finished his course. Thus died Holy Chad.

The Responsoria recapitulate in verse the same characteristic traits, the same beautiful legends; and so gracefully is the story retold, so skilfully does the artist, as it were, with one touch of his brush lay before us the whole scene, that we cannot withstand the temptation of presenting them to our readers in an English dress:

- I.
- R. Raised high in office, low in self-esteem,
To all men meek and humble, kind and sweet,
And ever gentle, such is Holy Chad.
- Ÿ. Nor doth the smile of fortune puff him up,
Nor can the hand of trouble lay him low.

II.

- R. He willingly obeyed the legate's word,
Gave up his See to one whom he but now
Himself had ruled, and quietly went back,
Without a sigh, to psalm and cloistered cell,
Y. "Unworthy I," quoth he, "to hold so great a charge."

III.

- R. But God, the Lord of Heaven so ordained,
That Chad o'er Mercia's sheep should hold his sway,
And feed, and guide, and rule, and govern them,
Y. And thus, mid work and prayer, he spent his days,
And taught his flock to know Christ's Holy Name.

IV.

- R. And when the time drew nigh for him to go,
He who had kept the law of Christ so well,
And others too had taught to keep that law,
And faithfully had served the Heavenly King,
To him the Lord deemed meet to show his end,
And thus assured, he passed away in peace.

V.

- R. And when his light by death's rude hand was hid,
A thousand tongues proclaimed his mighty deeds.
Unconquered still, he puts his foes to flight,
Y. Shattered, indeed, the alabaster box,
But its sweet fragrance fills the universe.

VI.

- R. To Holy Chad the thronging sick draw nigh,
The deaf, the blind, the palsied, and the lame.
Y. He who is maimed and scored with leprosy,
The hunchback and the weary, worn-out slave.
And all obtain relief, and all are glad,
Healed by the great physician's mighty aid.

VII.

- R. Here in the flesh he led an angel's life,
He walked the earth, but ever lived in Heaven,
And fully kept the law of Christ his God
With all his heart, and all his soul and strength.
Nor could self's shadow dim his sense of right.
Y. And therefore Christ hath raised him up on high,
And set him on a pinnacle of fame,
And now no shadow dims his glorious light.

VIII.

- R. A shout of joy goes up from earth to Heaven,
 And even scoffers hold their peace abashed;
 For tongues once silent praise God's Holy name,
 And eyes once dim behold the light of day,
 Made whole by touching Cedda's sacred shrine.
 V. Thus all men see how Christ rewards his own.

IX.

- R. O gentle shepherd, father of thy sheep,
 And brave protector of the Mercian flock
 Against the world, the devil, and the flesh,
 Do thou be with us as our guide and stay.
 V. That when the course of this sad life is o'er,
 We, too, may wear the victor's laurel crown.

The psalm antiphons again relate the story of Chad's life, and this time the legend is presented to us in rhyming verse. Chad was one of four brethren, all of whom were set apart to God. Two of them were bishops, and two were simple priests, and thus their number equalled the number of the Evangelists. All preached Christ's Gospel, and all rooted out the briars from among His vines, but Chad was deemed the greatest of the four. Trampling under foot the vain glory of this world, he bent his neck to bear the easy yoke of Christ whom he loved, and who thus taught and guided him. And when the holiness of his life displayed itself to all the world, like a bright and shining beacon, he was raised to the See of York.

And there indeed he sprinkled the lintels and the door-posts of his house with the blood of the lamb who was slain, and mindful of the cross of Christ did penance. At length he sought the peace and quietude of a monastic life, but his candle could not for long be hidden under a bushel; the light thereof soon burst forth from his cloistered cell, and he was once more compelled to resume the episcopate. And lovingly and tenderly he fed and guided and ruled the flock entrusted to his care, and faithfully he performed in all things the office of a good shepherd. His whole life was fertile in deeds of wonder: he raised the dead, he healed the sick, he cast out devils, and after that he was called to rest, the miracles wrought at his tomb bore witness to the efficacy of his intercession.

Such, in a few words, is the picture laid before us in these antiphons. Space forbids us to quote them in full ; we give, however, those sung at the second nocturn, which are very typical of the rest :

Postes Agni Sanguine
Suos tunc linivit
Crucis memor Domini
Carnem dum punivit.

Pugnans contra vicia
Palmam acquisivit.
Armis nudam ferreis
Carnem dum vestivit.

Qui sic fontem frigidum
Orans introivit,
Et non corpus balneo
Calido nutritiv.

The remaining antiphons need not long detain us. For the Magnificat at first vespers there is a choice of two. The first is written in a trochaic metre, and is simply a devout invocation, but the second, written in the same metre as the responsaries, most beautifully depicts the love which the faithful pastor bore to his sheep. "When the shepherd is present with the flock, which he cherisheth as a father doth a son, the sheep are filled with joy ; but in his absence who shall console them ?"

Pastor vigil gregis in medio
Sacri verbi munitur gladio,
Plantans mores expulso vicio:
Quo presente grex est in gaudio.
Sed absente caret solatio,
Cui favet ut Pater filio.

The Collect must not be passed by in silence. It is exceedingly beautiful, and does not appear in our own supplement.

Collect.

O God Who, by the merits of thy Saints, dost make thy Church, throughout the whole world, to be decked in beauty, grant, we beseech thee, through the intercession of the most blessed Bishop Ceádda, that of thy tender kindness, we also may be reckoned mid the number of the righteous, Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The other offices of St. Chad, viz., that for the feast of the translation of his relics, and for his weekly commemoration, need little comment, those portions which are not taken from the common office of a Confessor-bishop, being drawn from the service we have just described.

The Memorial Collect, however, said on ferial days, deserves attention :—

O God who, by the voice of angels, didst reveal the day of his departure to Blessed Chad, thy Confessor and Bishop : grant to us, we beseech thee, the consolation of the same holy spirits in this life, and in the life to come, their fellowship, Through Jesus Christ Our Lord.

S. DUNSTAN.

The following hymn to St. Dunstan was probably written during the troubled times when the Danish hordes were devastating England. Dr. Stubbs places the date of its composition about 1020. It must, however, from its tenour, have been rather earlier than later, since the bloody contest between Englishman and Dane was terminated in 1016 by the death of Edmund Ironside, and the pacification of the country under Canute.

The whole tone of the composition bespeaks the spirit of the time. Under Dunstan's government the land had enjoyed prosperity and peace, and he it was who, by his wise counsel, even after Edgar's death, and his own retirement from office, had staved off the evil day, which he only too clearly saw looming in the distance. The memory of those prosperous times was still fresh in the heart of the English people, who recalled with fond regret the peace and glory of Dunstan's rule. It was to Dunstan, then—now, as they believed, a saint in heaven—that they, half hopefully, half despairingly, turned their longing eyes. If he could not help them, who could ? All this is clearly indicated in the poem we have before us, as the following outline shows :—

Hail Holy Dunstan, true light of the English People. Our hope, our consolation, thou who dost bestow a sweet and healing ointment for our wounds.

In thee do we place our trust, in thy sight do we lift up our hands, to thee do we pour forth our prayers.

Trouble encompasseth thy flock, O gentle pastor, we are sore afflicted by the sword of a strange people. Offer, therefore, we beseech thee to Christ for us, the acceptable sacrifice of thy prayers. So shall He loosen

the fetters by which we are bound, and deliver this English land and the sons of His Church from the hostile nation by which they are oppressed.

HYMNUS DE SANCTO DUNSTANO EPISCOPO.

Ave, Dunstane, præsulum
Sidus decusque splendidum,
Lux vera gentis Anglicæ,
Et ad Deum dux prævie.

Tu spes tuorum maxima,
Dulcedo necnon intima,
Spirans odorem balsama
Vitalium melliflua.

Tibi pater, nos credimus,
Quibus te nil jocundius,
Ad te manus expandimus,
Tibi preces effundimus.

Oves tuas, pastor pie.
Passim premunt angustiae,
Mucrone gentis barbaræ
Necamur en Christicolæ.

Offer, sacerdos hostias
Christo precum gratissimas,
Quibus placatus, criminum
Solvat catenas ferreas,

Per quas Anglorum terminis
Ecclesiæque filiis
Et nationes perfidæ
Pestesque cedant noxiæ.

Per Te Pater Spes unica,
Per Te Proles pax unica,
Et Spiritus Lux unica
Adsit nobis in sæcula.

AMEN.

The various portions of the Mass with which the Church of Salisbury was wont to celebrate the festival of St. Dunstan, are, for the most part, still to be found scattered up and down the Roman Missal.

Thus, the Introit is the ordinary *Sacerdotes tui Domine* of the second Mass, *de Communi Confessoris pontificis*; the Epistle and Gospel (*Ecce Sacerdos Magnus* and *St. Matthew xxv.*) are identical with those incorporated in the Mass *Statuit ei Dominus. Juravit Dominus, &c.*, also to be met

with in the Mass *Sacerdotes*, forms the Gradual, while the Communion is taken from the Gospel for the day, *Domine quingue talenta*.

The prose is from the Sarum Common Office, but there is a proper Collect, Secret, and Postcommunion, which are still used, the same which are appointed to be said on St. Dunstan's day, in the English Supplement to the Roman Missal.

The most remarkable part of the service is the once celebrated trope *Kyrie Rex splendens* sung, according to the Use of Sarum, on this day and on the feast of St. Michael only, immediately after the Introit. Its composition has been ascribed to Dunstan himself, but it is to be questioned whether there is any solid ground for this assertion.

Dr. Stubbs, who has gone into the whole matter at some length, comes to the conclusion that all that can be said is that the composition may be Dunstan's.

The Kyrie in question is one of very great beauty, and as it is not so widely known as it deserves to be, we venture to give it *in extenso*. We have also added a translation, which, though only approximate, may perhaps serve to give the general reader some idea of the original.

CANTUS QUI VOCATUR KYRIE REX SPLENDENS.†

1. Kyrie Rex splendens cœli arce salve jugiter, et clemens [plebi Tuæ semper eleyson.
2. Hymnidicæ quem turmæ Cherubim laude perenniter proclamant incessanter, nobis eleyson.
3. Insigniter catervæ præcelsæ et quibus Seraphin respondent Te laudantes, nostri eleyson.
4. Christe Rex altithrone, ordines angelorum novem Quem laudant incessanter pulchre, dignare servis Tuis semper eleyson.
5. Christe Quem toto orbe unica ecclesia hymnizat, sol et luna, astra, tellus, mare Cui et famulantur, semper eleyson.
6. Ipsi idem inclitæ patriæ perpetuæ hæredes sancti omnes digno carmine proclamant quem ovanter, nobis eleyson.
7. Virginis piæ Mariæ O alma proles, Rex regum, benedicte Redemptor, cruore mercatis proprio mortis ex potestate semper eleyson.
8. Insignissime, ingenite, O genite, origine jam expers et fine, virtute excellens omnia, catervæ huic Tuæ clemens eleyson.
9. Limpidissimæ gloriæ Sol, justitiæ Arbiter, omnes gentes districte dum judices, turmæ obnixæ precamur tunc astanti clemens eleyson.

TRANSLATION.

1. All hail, Thou Lord of Heaven, ever throned in rainbow light,
Great Father of Thy people, always pitiful and kind,
O hear us when we cry to Thee, Kyrie eléison.
2. Thou Whom the singing band of Cherubim doth celebrate,
With one accord, in never ceasing canticles of praise,
Good Lord, have mercy on us, Kyrie eléison.
3. O Thou for Whom Seraphic choirs make sweet melody,
Uniting their clear voices to the Cherubs' mystic song,
In Thy great pity hear us, Kyrie eléison.
4. Lord Christ, Thou King enthroned on high, most merciful and sweet,
To Whom the ninefold choir sings its sweetest hymnody,
O hear us when we pray to Thee, Christe eléison.
5. Lord Jesu, Whom One Holy Church throughout the world doth hymn,
Whom sun, and moon and stars and wind and land and sea obey,
O hear us, even when we cry, Christe eléison.
6. O Thou Whom all Thy blessed saints, inheritors of Heaven,
With fitting hymns and antiphons, exultingly proclaim,
Great Lord of mercy, hear our prayer, Christe eléison.
7. Sweet offspring of Thy gentle Mother, Mary maid most pure,
O Blest Redeemer, Lord of Monarchs, hear our suppliant cry,
Who with Thy blood did save us, Kyrie eléison.
8. O Unbegotten ! O Begotten ! Most Illustrious,
O Thou Who knowest no beginning, and art without end,
Excelling all in might and power, just and merciful,
Give ear unto our mourning, Kyrie eléison.
9. O Sun of brightest glory, Arbiter of righteousness,
When Thou shalt judge the whole world justly, spare Thy supplicants.
With all our hearts we beg Thee, Kyrie eléison.

With the exception of six proper lessons, evidently drawn from Adelard, and the Collect—*deus qui beatum*, as at Mass—the Church of Salisbury directs that the entire Breviary Office for St. Dunstan's Day shall be said from the Common Office of one Confessor Bishop.

S. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.

From the day when Henry II. bestowed the crown of martyrdom on his primate, to the day when a still more ferocious Henry rifled his tomb, and threw his sacred ashes to

the four winds, no more popular name was to be found in the Calendar of English Saints than that of Thomas Becket.

His festivals, therefore, as may well be imagined, were celebrated with especial splendour, and a more than wonted beauty is to be met with in his offices. Of these the Sarum Breviary gives three varieties.

The office for his festival proper, observed on December 29th, the solemn commemoration for the feast of the translation of his relics, and a weekly commemoration, or, as we should say, votive office.

The celebration of the great festival, December 29th, commenced on the day preceding the feast itself with what was called a memorial.

This memorial was made in two ways. In certain churches, probably the more important, immediately after vespers, and without changing their vestments, the clergy and choir proceeded, in solemn procession, nevertheless, without candles in their hands, as the rubric expressly states, to the altar of St. Thomas, and, as they went, they hymned their hero's victory. "The wheaten grain lies prone before the flail," runs the quaintly beautiful sequence with which Sarum honoured the greatest of England's saints. "The righteous man, hewn down by impious swords, thereby exchanging squalid earth for Heaven. The vineyard's keeper falls beside the vine. The captain on the battle-field lies low, the husbandman within his threshing-floor. From squalid earth, Christ's martyr mounts to Heaven."*

Having reached the altar, this as well as the image of the saint was incensed by the officiating priest, while the rest of the clergy and the choir, grouped around, continued their triumphant canticle :

Sound ye the gladsome trump of victory,
For this, that God's own vineyard might be free,

* B. Jacet granum oppressum palea,
Justus cœsus pravorum framea,
Cœlum domo commutans lutea.

V. Cadit custos vitis in vinea,
Dux in castris, cultor in area,
Cœlum domo commutans lutea.

Which, clad in human flesh, Himself had freed
 By dying on the purple blood-stained cross.
 The savage beast of prey becomes a lamb,
 The shepherd's cruel death converts his foe,
 Christ's marble pavement flows all red with blood.
 Thus Thomas wins the martyr's laurel crown,
 And like the wheaten grain, from husk set free,
 Is garnered in the storehouse of the King.*

Then was intoned the *Ÿ. Ora pro nobis Beate Thoma,*
 &c., with its accompanying *R.*, and afterwards followed the
 Collect, the same which we still use.

The memorial completed, the clergy returned to the choir ;
 but great was the devotion of the ancient Church of England
 to the Mother of God. She loved to associate the name of
 Mary, with all her joys and all her sorrows. *In redeundo,*
 runs the rubric, *dicitur Responsorium vel Antiphona de Sancta*
Maria.

In those churches in which it was not customary to have a
 procession on St. Thomas's Eve, the following antiphon was
 substituted for the above prose :

The watchful pastor, slain amid his flock,
 Their peace procures, by pouring out his blood.
 O joyous sorrow ! O most mournful joy !
 The sheep draw breath, the shepherd lyeth low,
 And weeping Mother Church applauds a son
 Who, by his death a victor, mounts to Heaven.†

All the antiphons at this office are rhythmical and rhyming.

* *Prosa.*

Clangat pastor in tuba cornea.
 Ut libera sit Christi vinea,
 Quam, assumptæ sub carnis trabea,
 Liberavit cruce purpurea,
 Adversatrix ovis erronea
 Fit pastoris cæde sanguinea,
 Pavimenta Christi mamorea
 Sacro madent cruore rubea.
 Martir vitæ donatus laurea,
 Velut granum purgatum palea,
 In divina transfertur horrea
 Cælum domo commutans lutea.

† Pastor cæsus in gregis medio
 Pacem emit cruoris precio.
 O lætus dolor in tristi gaudio,
 Grex respirat pastore mortuo.
 Plangens plaudit mater in filio,
 Quia vivit victor sub gladio.

Those at Matins form a sort of metrical legend of the Saint's life, the chief characteristic of which is quaintness. Several of them, however, are not without a certain naïve beauty. Take, for example, the ninth, which sings of the happiness of the place and of the church, in which the memory of Thomas dwells, of the country which gave him birth, and of the land which afforded him shelter during his exile :

Ant. 9.—*Felix locus, felix ecclesia :*
In qua Thomæ viget memoria :
Felix terra quæ dedit præsulem
Felix illa quæ fovit exulem :
Felix pater, succurre miseris :
Ut felices jungamur superis.

The antiphons at Lauds are written in the same style. That with which the office opens, rich in allegory and poetic feeling, is well worthy of notice, for in the two short verses of which the antiphon is made up, allusion is made to the words of our Lord, "Amen, Amen, I say unto you unless the grain of wheat falling into the ground die, itself remaineth alone, but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit," and the breaking of the alabaster box of precious ointment is made to signify, in a mystical manner, the cruel death by which the faithful Shepherd purchased peace for his flock :

Ant. 1.—*Granum cadit copiam geminat frumenti :*
Alabastrum frangitur, fragrat vis unguenti.

The fifth, too, is singularly beautiful. A short prayer to Christ, that by the blood which His Martyr had poured out for him, He would make His supplicants also to ascend whither Thomas had ascended before them :

Ant. 5.—*Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit :*
Fac nos Christe, scandere quo Thomas ascendit.

The antiphon to the Benedictus takes the form of an invocation, in which the Saint's devout clients beseech their heavenly patron to stretch out his hand to help them, to rule and govern such as stand upright, to raise up the fallen, to watch over the whole course of their life, and finally to guide them in the way of peace :

Ant.—*Opem nobis, O Thoma porrige,*
Rege stantes, jacentes erige,

Mores, actus, et vitam corripere;
Et in pacis nos viam dirige.

A single antiphon bears reference to S. Thomas, at the Vespers of his feast, all the others being taken from the office of the Nativity. It was sung at the Magnificat, and is of great beauty. Here the saint is apostrophised as the rod of justice, the light of the world, the strength of the Church, the beloved of the people, and the joy of the priesthood:

Salve, Thoma, virga justiciæ;
Mundi jubar, robur Ecclesiæ,
Plebis amor, cleri deliciæ,
Salva tuæ gaudentes gloriæ.

As the antiphons at Matins epitomise in rhyming verse the story of Thomas's life, so the nine responsories in like manner emphasise his death (4, 5) and passion (1, 3, 6), and the fortitude with which he suffered, (2) tell us of his power and glory, how all things do his will, how the very elements obey him, and how plague, pestilence, death, and even Satan himself, is subservient to his word (7), call to mind the efficacy of his intercession (8), and implore through his merits that Christ would vouchsafe to have mercy on His Church.

All these responsories are written in the same beautiful metre as the *Jacet granum* already quoted, and which indeed forms also the third of this series.

Much as we should like to do so, space forbids us to reproduce the entire set, and we therefore content ourselves with giving two only out of the remaining eight, as examples of the rest, namely the fifth and the ninth, which last was also sung at Vespers:

V.

R. The earth's fair flower by the earth is crushed,
But hush thee Rachel cease thy sad lament,
For when the Martyr sealed his faith in death
A second Abel blossomed in the land.

Ÿ. The shattered casket, and his blood poured out
Filled Heaven with a mighty voice of prayer
When Holy Thomas, dying sealed his faith.*

* V.

R. Mundi florem a mundo conteri,
Rachel plorans jam cessa conqueri,
Thomas cœsus dum datur funeri.
Novus Abel succedit veteri.

IX.

- R. Lord Jesus, by the merits of Thy saint
 Forgive us, we beseech Thee, all our sins.
 O Thou who bade the sleeping maid arise,
 Who, at the city gate, called back to life
 The widow's son, and from the very grave
 Bade Lazarus come forth and live again,
 Visit the home, the gateway and the tomb
 And raise us from the triple death of sin.
- Ÿ. And in Thy wonted pity purify
 Our souls by thought or word or deed defiled.
 O raise us from the triple death of sin.
 So shall we praise and bless the Triune God,
 Raised from the bitter threefold death of sin.*

S. OSMUND.

Few offices have a richer category of antiphons, verses, responds, and so forth, than that with which the Church of Salisbury honoured the reputed founder of her choral books. Indeed, if we except the psalms and hymns, the whole of the service for S. Osmund's Day is proper to his feast, and amid such an *embarras des richesses*, it is no easy matter to decide what portions of it to lay before our readers.

The antiphons at First Vespers are somewhat curious. Each one was evidently composed with special reference to the psalm which it heads, some passage from which, or the general theme of the psalm, forming in every case the theme also of the antiphon, which, however, at the same time, always bears allusion either directly or indirectly to S. Osmund.

Thus we have the fifth, where the opening words of its psalm are, so to speak, interwoven into the antiphon. Here, too, a special reference would seem to be made to the Saint's

-
- V. Vox cruoris vox sparsi cerebri
 Cælum replet clamore celebri
 Thomas cæsus dum datur funeri.

* IX.

- R. Jesu bone, per Thomæ merita
 Nostra nobis demitte debita
 Domum portam, sepulchrum visita
 Et a trina nos morte suscita.
- V. Actu mente vel usu perditâ,
 Pietate restaura solita,
 Et a trina nos morte suscita ;
 Gloria Patri, et Filio et Spiritui Sancto,
 Et a trina nos morte suscita.

traditional labour in correcting and reforming the Salisbury choir manuals. "Praise the Lord, O Sion, the Lord of the mighty Confessor, and sing praises to the holy Pontiff, by whose handiwork He hath strengthened thy gates, and now hath made glad thy children."

In some of the antiphons at Lauds too, the same idea is carried out. Take, for instance, the first, or the opening words of the 91st Psalm: *The Lord hath reigned, he is clothed with beauty*. Here we are told how Osmund drew back from the honour of reigning on earth, preferring rather the beauty of the house of God :

Hic Osmundus refugit
Regnantis honorem
Dei domus eligens
Præferre decorem.

The 4th and 5th too are well worthy of notice. There is a certain naïve simplicity, a certain quaint beauty, a certain childlike enthusiasm about them which is indescribably touching :

Ant. 4. Benedicta Neustria
Tale fundens donum :
O quam felix Anglia
Hunc habens patronum,
Alleluya, alleluya.

Ant. 5. Qui cum sanctis omnibus
Regnas nunc Osmunde
Pro nobis orantibus
Deo preces funde
Alleluya.

As to the other antiphons, those of Matins contain an abridged metrical account of the Saint's life. In the first of these, a curious play on the word Osmundus is introduced :

Natus mox renascitur
Osmundus fonte lotus
A cunctis piaculis
Effectus mundus totus.

The antiphon to the Magnificat at first Vespers is made up of four hexameters, and takes the form of an invocation to S. Osmund, that he would vouchsafe, by his prayers, to succour his devout clients, and make them to follow in his footsteps.

That to the Benedictus is also written in hexameter verse. Here we are told that Osmund is the good and faithful servant whom the Lord hath set up to rule His people, that when here on earth he filled the hungry soul with good things, even with the wheaten corn of God's Word, and that now in Heaven he doth not cease to render whole such as are sick, whether of soul or body.

The antiphon to the Magnificat at second Vespers, written in the same metre as the psalm antiphons, is not without beauty :

Ant. Salve celeberrime
 Pater clericorum,
 Osmunde sanctissime
 Lumen confessorum,
 Dele tuis precibus
 Perpetrata male
 Memor in cœlestibus
 Nostri semper, vale.

Several of the responsories at Matins are very beautiful. Take, for example, the ninth :

O gentle Osmund, thou soldier and father, and founder of God's flock,
 Offer our prayers to Christ, and purge away our offences ;
 Thus may we also enter the heavenly citadel with thee.

Or the third, which in words such as these apostrophises Osmund :

Yea, it is meet with thee to rejoice, most glorious pontiff,
 Who having gone from this valley of mourning, rejoicest for ever,
 Ever made glad by the face of thy Jesus—vision of splendour,
 And who abidest still our protector, shepherd, and father.

We must not leave this subject without drawing attention to the second responsory which is somewhat curious. The words descriptive of Simon, the high priest, the son of Onias, contained in the first and fourth verses of the 50th chapter of Ecclesiasticus, are here turned into hexameters, and made to apply to S. Osmund :

*Ecce sacerdotem ejus prudentia sanctum
 Suffulsit templum Christi stabilivit et ædem
 In vita placuit Domino plebem bene rexit.*

Another version of this same passage becomes the little chapter at both Vespers, and at Lauds and Tierce :

"Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in vita sua curavit gentem suam, et liberavit eam a perditione: qui suffulsit domum et diebus suis corroboravit templum." The portions of Scripture appointed to be read at Sext and None are also taken from the 50th of Ecclesiasticus. That which was read at Sext is particularly appropriate: "He shone in his days as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at the full. And as the sun when it shineth, so did he shine in the temple of God."

The Collect is very beautiful. It is to be regretted that it does not appear in our own Supplement:

O God, who for the praise and glory of Thy name, and for the honour of Osmund, Thy holy confessor, dost vouchsafe to renew, in these latter days, Thy mighty deeds of old, mercifully grant to us, through the intercession of him whose translation we celebrate, so to glorify Thee in this world that we may be deemed worthy to enjoy Thy presence in the world to come, through Jesus Christ Our Lord.*

Two other services in honour of St. Osmund are to be found also in the great Breviary of 1531. The first of these follows immediately after the office we have just been considering, and is headed simply, *In Commemoratione Sancti Osmundi*. It contains three lessons, two antiphons—one for the Magnificat and one for the Benedictus—and a collect, all of which are entirely different from the corresponding portions of the preceding office. The antiphons are both rhythmical, and both conceived in that beautiful iambic metre so frequently adopted in mediæval hymnody.

That sung at the Magnificat, after telling of St. Osmund's renown as a Thaumaturgus, calls to mind the exultant joy of Mother Church at the birth of such a son: "When she brought forth Osmund she blossomed as a lily."

Ant. Pater pius ad gregis gaudium
Ægris præstat vitæ solatium
Contractis membris confert subsidium,
Et visus cæcis præbet refugium,
Exultans gaudet mater per filium
Quæ tali partu floret ut lilium.

* *Oratio*.—Deus, cujus antiqua miracula etiam nostris temporibus ad tui nominis magnificentiam ac laudem, et honorem sancti confessoris tui Osmundi choruscare sentimus; concede propitius ut cujus translationem colimus, ejus intercessionibus, et in præsentī seculo te glorificemus, et in futuro te perfrui mereamur. Per Dominum.

The antiphon to the Benedictus takes the form of an invocation, and here again a play on the Saint's name is indulged in :

Ant. Bone Jesu *Osmundi* meritis
 Tu nos *munda mundi* piaculis
 Et concede ut grex a maculis
Peccatorum vivat incolumis.

The Collect is considerably shorter than that in the preceding office. There allusion is made to the Saint's liturgical labours and to his celebrity as a miracle-worker; these are the two ideas which dominate the entire theme. In the present case, another phase in Osmund's career is made, as it were, the key-stone of the structure—the fact of his once having been a soldier.

Collect.

O God, who didst recall Blessed Osmund Thy Bishop from the warfare of this world, to enrol him among the warriors of heaven, grant to us that, casting aside earthly desires, we may lay hold of the good things of the world to come. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.*

As to the third service, celebrated on the 4th of December, "In depositione Sancti Osmundi Episcopi et Confessoris," with the exception of the Collect, *Deus cujus antiqua miracula*, which we have already given, it is taken entirely from the common office, "In natali unius Con. et Pon. extra tempus paschale."

On a future occasion we hope to be able to present the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW with some account of the Breviary Offices with which the Church of Salisbury celebrated the remaining five great feasts of her liturgical year—viz., Christmas, the Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, and the Ascension.

F. E. GILLIAT SMITH.

* *Oratio*.—Deus qui beatum Osmundum pontificem tuum a seculi militia ad cœlestem revocasti: concede nobis, ut mundanis abjectis desideriis bona cœlestia capiamus. Per Dominum nostrum.

ART. III.—THE SOCIAL DIFFICULTY.

1. *La Population.* Par EDOUARD VAN DER SMISSEN. pp. 561. 8vo. Guillaumin et C^{ie}. Paris & Bruxelles. 1893.
2. *Le Pape, les Catholiques et la Question Sociale.* Par LÉON GRÉGOIRE Perrin et C^{ie}. Paris. pp. 270. 1893.
3. *La Question Ouvrière.* Par L'ABBÉ P. FERET, D.D. 1893. Lethielleux. Paris. pp. xxxvii.-360.
4. *Abnormal Man.* By A. MACDONALD, Specialist in the Bureau of Education. Washington: 1893. 8vo, unbound, pp. 445, of which 240 form a "Bibliography."

There is nothing more powerful than religion (of which the Church is the interpreter and guardian) to draw rich and poor together, by reminding each class of its duties to the other, and especially of the duties of justice.—P.P. Leo XIII., *Encyclical on Labour*.

THE strikes and lock-outs, and the constantly recurring trade disputes and public altercations between employer and employed, during recent years, have rung a warning blast throughout the length and breadth of Europe which, it is to be hoped, will not fall upon deaf or inattentive ears.

A profound feeling of distrust and discontent reigns throughout the great masses of the people, and the occasional ebullitions of impatience which rise to the surface in the shape of riots, strikes, and other forms of violence, are but indications of a much more widely spread and deeper dissatisfaction.

The labouring populations in Great Britain, as elsewhere, are not only gaining experience, and acquiring a practical knowledge of all those great social and economical questions which most intimately concern themselves, and in which many take the keenest interest, but they are, at the same time, increasing enormously in number. And while their extraordinary multiplication adds greatly to their power and influence in the State, it, at the same time, intensifies the difficulties of their position, and renders the struggle for existence more acute and more intolerable.

That an immense amount of real misery exists upon every

side, and that hundreds of thousands can but with difficulty eke out the absolute necessities of life, seems unquestionable and unquestioned. That in many instances, especially in the overpopulated cities and vast commercial centres, hours are too long and wages too scanty, and work too often degrading and demoralising, are facts that need no proof.

Although there are, of course, rogues and vagabonds, and idle unthrifty wretches to be found everywhere; and though considerable numbers may, through drink and viciousness, bring poverty and misery on themselves, yet the culpable may be said to form but a comparatively insignificant fraction of that enormous section of the nation, which is living, if not in a state of pinching poverty, at least in a condition so perilously approaching it, that any other feeling but one of rooted discontent must be humanly impossible.*

While in one quarter large sums of money are squandered and scattered, and luxury and extravagance are indulged without stint or hindrance, in another the population starve and pine away for the lack of the most indispensable requisites of life. The country is rich, prosperous, and powerful. The credit of England stands high among the nations of the world, but its wealth is held in the hands of the few, and the golden streams that pour into the coffers of the wealthier classes scarce touch the finger-tips of the poor.

What the hard worked struggling classes—the tram-car conductor, and the omnibus driver, working for fourteen hours a day for a few shillings wage, and the seamstress making up shirts and trousers at one shilling and sixpence the dozen,† and the enfeebled, who can get neither work nor bread, feel most keenly is, that there is enough, and more than enough, for all, if wealth were less capriciously divided, and if lands and territories were not locked up by private indolence from yielding a just return.

While many and bitter complaints are made when any lack of patience or resignation is manifested by the ill-fed and ill-clothed poor, and though cries of virtuous indignation ascend

* *Vide* Charles Booth's "Life and Labour, etc." chap. on Poverty.

† "We have learned from the evidence before the Sweating Committee that women are glad to make trousers at eighteenpence per dozen, etc."—"Free Trade in Capital." By A. E. Hake, p. 160. A.D. 1890.

to heaven whenever the prick of pain and misery goads them to acts of lawlessness, and forces them for want of other help, to seek to help themselves, there seems very little disposition on the part of the well-to-do to inquire into the position of their subordinates, and to remove the disabilities under which they suffer so severely.

The world is broad and wide. There is room enough for all, and indeed for many times the actual population, if only the teeming multitudes, now starving in the congested districts and overcrowded centres, where they lower wages and help to ruin each other, could be more equitably distributed over the vast stretches of wholly unpopulated or scantily populated areas. Since, however, this is an assertion that is scarcely realized, and is indeed commonly denied, we had better offer some confirmation of it before proceeding any further. Let us appeal to facts.

Examining the statistics of the various countries of the earth, we find our suspicions abundantly justified. Russia in Europe has but 16·5 inhabitants to a square kilometre, the United States but 6·7.* North America, considered as a whole, but 4 to the square kilometre, and South America but 2.; while Australia with a land surface almost equal to that of Europe can boast of but *one* person to *three* square kilometres—or to be very exact, ·35 to the kilometre.

Dutch Guiana has but 70,000 inhabitants, yet it could easily nourish 25,000,000. Brazil contains but fourteen or fifteen millions, though it possesses a superficies equal to that of the whole of Europe, and might support between two and three hundred millions. Even countries till lately supposed to be barren and uninhabitable, are now found capable of most profitable cultivation. Thus, *e.g.*, according to the famous explorers Livingston, Cameron, Stanley, and others, the centre of Africa possesses marvellous resources. In Urna, for instance, to the West of Tanganyika, rice yields 100 fold, maize from 150 to 200 fold, and three such harvests may be reaped within eight months. One acre there, if planted with bananas, will support fifty men. In fact, Africa might sustain many times its present population. For while Europe has over

* *Vide* "La Population." Par E. van der Smissen. 1893. p. 200-214.

eighty-eight inhabitants to the square mile, Africa has less than eighteen, even *central* Asia could harbour a much larger population than it possesses, since it teems with undeveloped capacities.

In addition to these and other places, which are merely awaiting the advent of a population sufficiently numerous to turn their resources to account, there are many and not inconsiderable areas of land which are gradually being reclaimed and won over to cultivation and the use of man. Thus, in Norway, where in 1886 there were but 1,800 square miles of arable land, the agriculturists reclaim from the sea and the fjords each year more than 25,000 acres. So again, in the State of Florida 1,000,000, acres of marsh and swamp have been drained and rendered so valuable as to be sold at from five dollars to forty dollars per acre.

England itself has not, by any means, been cultivated to the full measure of its capacity. According to the *Statesman's Year Book*, the proportion of productive area is in England but 80 per cent. of the whole; in Wales but 60 per cent.; in Scotland but 28·8 per cent. and in Ireland 74 per cent. The average for the whole United Kingdom is estimated as less than 65 per cent. of the entire area.* In other words considerably more than a quarter of the land in Great Britain and Ireland is not under cultivation. Though the amount of unprofitable land is diminishing year by year, it is only by slow degrees.

All this tends to prove that there is plenty in the world for all men, even though their number were many times greater than it is. It shows that the miseries and sufferings, and the unsatisfied hunger and thirst that exist, are owing, not to dearth of provisions and the general means of subsistence, but to their absolutely unequal distribution. In fact, to use the words of L. Hobhouse, "the problem of to-day is distribution and not production." (*The Labour Movement*, p. xi.)

It is easier far, of course, to say what ought to be, than to

* *Vide Statesman's Year Book*, 1886. Mr. A. E. Fletcher stated, at the adjourned Jerusalem Chamber Conference, Nov. 1893, that "There are 6,000,000 acres in the United Kingdom lying idle, which ought to be cultivated, and many other acres that might be reclaimed from the sea, all of which work would give employment to thousands of men."

point to means and ways of accomplishing the desired result. Yet a clear perception of what each man may justly expect, and rightfully claim, should precede any actual attempts at readjustment. Unless indeed an intelligent view be taken of man's social status, and unless his rights and privileges be recognised and admitted, there will be little attempted and still less accomplished.

Men in power and authority wax eloquent when dilating upon the necessity of charity to the distressed and sympathy with the sons of toil; they are even ready and anxious to loosen the purse-strings of the philanthropic, and to lessen actual pressure, by timely doles. This is all very well in its way, but it is no solution to the social question. The masses want justice, rather than an intermittent charity; and they will never be satisfied till they get it. They seek, before all things, a generous impartial recognition of their rights. No man who respects himself, cares to remain in the position of a permanent mendicant. Nor can we expect anyone to be overgrateful for the condescending gift of five or ten pounds from a creditor, who in strict equity owes him fifty or a hundred.

If we have any desire to better the position of our less fortunate brethren, we must begin by investigating their claims and examining their title deeds. If we do this fairly and without prejudice, we may possibly discover that what we have hitherto considered the widest charity, has been considerably less than the scantiest justice.

Over and above the privileges that the civil law may confer, every man, by virtue of his birth into this world, and simply because he is a man, possesses certain definite and inalienable rights, with which no State nor Government can justly interfere.

He has a right (1) to live—so long as he commits no act by which his life becomes forfeit to the State. And the right to live carries with it a right (2) to all that is requisite to maintain life. Consequently he may justly demand food and clothing and shelter: (not indeed directly, save in exceptional circumstances) but indirectly. In other words he may justly demand work or employment, by which he can obtain the means of supplying his needs.

Further; since the Creator has conferred life, not as a penalty or a punishment, but as a privilege and a boon, it is

evidently His intention that, speaking generally, man should enjoy life, and rejoice in his existence.* Man may fairly claim, therefore, not merely what is absolutely needed for bare existence, but also (3) what is requisite, in the present condition of society and civilization, for ordinary decency and comfort.† (4) We say under the present conditions of society,‡ because the requirements of ordinary comfort in one age and place may altogether differ from those of another. They are not at all identical, *e.g.*, for the serf of the twelfth century and for the English or French peasant of to-day, nor for the American labourer and the Chinese Coolie. These are elementary propositions, and may readily be deduced from first principles.

Difficulties may often be felt of course in the application of the most incontestible truths. Hence it may not unnaturally be objected, that much as we would wish to see all men freed from actual want, and enjoying a modicum of prosperity and comfort, that we fail to understand how such a consummation is to be brought about. Now the root of the difficulty lies, not in the inability of nature to produce abundance for all; nor in the fact that some possess all that they can reasonably require to the detriment of others; but rather in this, that some grasp and retain, and consequently withhold from the multitudes, a vast deal more than they at all need, or can even possibly use with any real profit to themselves.

Simple justice requires that every one should be in a condition to secure the necessities of life, before any individual be permitted to indulge in extravagant luxuries and superfluities.

* No less an authority than the Vicar of Christ lays down the principle that "there is a dictate of Nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man—viz., that the remuneration must be enough to support the wage earner in reasonable and frugal *comfort*."—Ency. "On Labour."

As things are at present, millions of men and women are—to quote Bishop Smith's words—"not so much born into this world, as damned into it."

† "It is absolutely necessary to train up, to alleviate and mitigate the work of operatives in such a way that they may lead human lives and have leisure for family relations. . . . The present uncertainty as to wages makes family duties and affections practically an impossibility."—CARD. MANNING.

‡ In similar words Archbishop Ireland also declares that the working-man has "a right to live, not anyhow, but as a Christian, as the father of a family, as an educated man with a home about him, with leisure for religious and social duties, with rest on Sundays, and a reasonable day's task, and the means of providing for old age and sickness."

Setting aside the vicious and the dissolute, and all who have courted disaster by their recklessness and folly, and who may well be left to bear, in some measure at least, the penalty of sin ; we may surely contend, that every member of the human family should have the means of enjoying the *ordinary requisites* of life, according to his state, before any should indulge in its *dainties*, or luxuriate on its delicacies. No member of the body politic should be clothed with silk and broad cloth till shivering nakedness has secured a flannel petticoat.*

No complaint is made against the general principle of inequality. Inequality does exist, and will exist, and must exist. It is rooted in the very nature of things. It is founded not only in wealth and material possessions, which might admit of a temporary equipartition ; but in a thousand personal and natural gifts and qualifications, which despotically resist all attempts at arbitrary distribution. Such are vigour of health, physical strength, power of endurance, mental endowment, personal ability and character, even length of life, and much else besides. Inequality is not only a necessity. It is also a benefit. It introduces into social life those harmonies and contrasts, relationships and interdependencies ; mutual services and co-operations which go to establish a variety in unity ; distinctly pleasing in itself and undoubtedly beneficial to the commonwealth.

We approve, and cannot but approve, of inequality, for inasmuch as it is indelibly written in nature itself, it manifestly carries with it the sanction of Nature's Lord and Fashioner. But there are limits even to the degree of inequality between man and man ; and beyond these limits we have no right to trespass. Yet, as a matter of history, they have been exceeded again and again. Not alone when the freedom of men's consciences have been outraged, as under Nero and Diocletian and other pagan persecutors : not alone when physical liberty has been cruelly denied, as in the long ages of slavery and serfdom ; but in these days too, when the pitiless heels of the sweater have trampled upon and crushed the defenceless labourer to the dust, unmindful of the cardinal principle, that each possesses positive rights and liberties, limited only by what is due to the defence of the rights of others.

* What is superfluous *belongs* to the poor ; St. John Chrysostom calls it "the *patrimony* of the poor."

Liberty is tampered with, and abused in all these cases, and in the last as truly, if not as extensively, as in the others. If a man can do a piece of work for an employer worth five shillings, what right can such an employer have to take advantage of the man's extreme indigence to compel him to do it for half or a third that amount?

There is here no fair contract. The workman is not a free agent. He acts under constraint. He is driven by fear of starvation and death to enter into an iniquitous bargain. When the American slave driver, of a bye-gone day, forced his slave to toil in the sugar plantation by scourging him with a whip, he scarcely exceeded his rights more shamelessly than does the modern sweater. The unjust employer of our day does not indeed handle the actual leather thongs that tore open the naked back of the negro, but he not unfrequently compels his labourers to accept impossible conditions by threatening to leave them to sink under the more deadly lash of hunger, want, and nakedness.

Even where hard and perilous work is undertaken, injurious to health and often destructive of life itself, certain employers hesitate to duly compensate the risk run and the danger encountered by any appreciable increase of wages. They have been known to excuse their selfishness by pointing to the supposed consequences. The men, they urge, will make a bad use of the extra money. They will spend it only in drinking, gambling, and living riotously, &c. Even supposing such an allegation were well founded, the fact might be to us, indeed, a source of regret, but it would by no means justify us in withholding from a single man the remuneration which is his due. He who hires the labour of another must give him its proper value. Should the labourer make a bad use of his hard gotten wage, it is *his* affair, and the master has no more right to curtail the amount on that account, than a Sovereign would have to appropriate an estate because its owner mismanages it, or to confiscate the income of some commercial magnate because he is throwing it away in unprofitable enterprises.

It is the duty of a well ordered government to seek the interests and welfare of the whole community. Its very *raison d'être* is to defend the rights of the weak against the strong, and to enforce the just claims of every class of which the

nation is composed. But its power should be more especially at the service of those (1) whose needs are greatest and (2) who are least of all in a position to defend themselves.* Can we flatter ourselves that the governments of to-day are, in this respect, fully justifying their existence?

The subject is worth considering. But we must preface our remarks by calling to mind a few facts.

The produce of the earth is intended by God for the support of the entire human race. By virtue of reason and intelligence conferred upon him, man is able to draw from the soil all that is requisite for his maintenance and well being. But the self same Reason that enables man to unlock the treasure-house of nature and to extract rich stores of food and clothing and other requisites, teaches him with equal clearness that the strong and the fortunate have no right to arrogate to themselves such a proportion, as to leave their less favoured brothers to pine and starve.

The whole source of the present mischief, suffering, and discontent, is traceable to the ghastly extremes that exist between affluence and penury, riches and want, which modern civilisation has gradually introduced, and which modern legislation has, shall we say culpably, permitted to continue. Again we repeat, it is not inequality, but the frightful extremes of inequality, that are felt to be an injustice and a national disaster, crying to heaven for redress.

The natural tendency, as things now stand, is to increase the inequality still further—to make the contrast yet more startling. Wealth produces more and more wealth. Poverty sinks to greater and greater depths. It is the law. Physical exertion may produce the necessities of life, but a capital once acquired not only yields a more or less regular and secure income to its owner without effort or care, but if large enough, may leave a residuum after all wants have been supplied, and all inclinations indulged, to put out to compound interest. This will go on increasing and multiplying and doubling and trebling, and quadrupling itself, with hardly

* Leo XIII. declares that : "Whenever the general interest of any particular class suffers, or is threatened with evils, which can in no other way be met, the Public Authority must step in to meet them."—From the Encyclical "On Labour."

a thought or effort on the part of the owner, merely by the simple process of accumulation alone.* By this means it may at last attain to quite gigantic dimensions, nor will it then receive any check. On the contrary, it will only augment the more rapidly and the more certainly. A mere farthing, as it has often been observed, put out at compound interest on the first day of the Christian era, would have yielded by now a value equal to that of some thousand millions of globes of solid gold of the volume of our earth. Since money does not produce money of itself, but only indirectly, and by its effects upon labour, this classic example serves to show how many arms and hands may be toiling for a single plutocrat. Thus while some, in spite of all their exertions, are sinking into the lowest slough of indigence, others are mounting, in spite of a life of idleness and inanity, to the dizziest heights of ease and affluence.

Here we witness the workings of the laws of nature. But God has given man reason to modify and to correct nature's waywardness for the general good of the whole community. The *laissez aller* principle of some political economists, and the uncontrolled struggle for existence, pushed to its ultimate limits, are unjust, impracticable, and iniquitous. The principle of non-interference is not only fraught with the most deplorable consequences, but is enforced in defiance of reason. It also forms a shameful exception to an almost universal practice in all other spheres of human activity. Man nowhere leaves any important decision to be settled by unreasoning nature.

The irrational beasts are guided by uncontrolled instinct alone. True. But, as a consequence, they perish in epidemics or starve to death, merely from want of forethought. They succumb to heat or cold, where man, by virtue of his intelligence, may find against both a remedy and a safeguard. In these and countless other cases, he brings his reason to bear upon the problem, and so far from leaving nature to take its own course, he is continually defeating its stratagems and hindering its effects by carefully laid plans, and the exercise of a wisdom and cunning bestowed upon him for that purpose by God. In fact the whole history of man is the history of

* We may say of great capitalists what J. S. Mill says of landlords: "They grow richer as it were, in their sleep, without working, risking, or economizing" ("Prin. of Pol. Ec.," p. 547).

his conflict with, and his victory over, unconscious nature. Then why, let us ask, should he not apply his mind as earnestly to modify and control those tendencies by which nature blindly heaps more and more wealth upon the wealthy, whilst it sends the hungry still more empty away?

That the State has the right to interfere in all such matters is abundantly clear. It has more than a right, it has a positive duty. Being set over a nation for the welfare of that nation, it is bound to consider the commonwealth as a whole before considering the privileges of any favoured class or individual whatever. This principle is in practice already conceded. It has been acted upon again and again, though it has never been applied to the subject of wealth in any measure at all commensurate with the exigencies of the case.

Thus, should a railway be needed for the general convenience of the public, the law finds or forces a passage for it, through parks and gardens, plantations and lordly estates, in spite of all the opposition, the resentment, and the complaints of owners and lords of the manor. While acknowledging the rights of private property, it justly refuses to consider those rights as absolute. They melt away, and altogether cease to be rights, so soon as, and in so far as they inflict a grievance or a serious inconvenience on the community at large.

So again there are regulations that limit a man's freedom in dealing even with what is admittedly his own. A city merchant, however great or rich, may not erect a residence so that it projects beyond the building line, nor so as to rob a neighbouring house or villa of its light. A dog-fancier is hindered from keeping his own hounds, even in his own yard, if their yelping disturbs the slumbers of his neighbours. A manufacturer may be compelled, for analogous reasons, "to consume his own smoke," and a soapmaker to place his factory beyond the city gates.

The existence of tolls, customs, taxes, dues, excise duties, wharfage, and all other forms of imposts, may also be cited to prove how conclusively the whole principle of Government control and interference is recognised, wherever the public good, or the welfare of the country, demands it.

The question here suggests itself: Should not something now be done by those who are invested with the Civil Power, to

bring about a fairer distribution of the good things of this world? Life, especially at the present day, is a race for wealth, but unhappily a race in which the runners are most unequally matched. If we abandon the arrangement of this race to fickle Dame Fortune, or blind Dame Nature, we find that they almost invariably handicap the wrong men. Hence the State should step in and see that justice is fairly dealt out to all. It is the duty of the State at all events to try and diminish rather than increase existing inequalities.

When James Watt began to study the mechanism and the practical working of the steam engine, he found that one of its great defects arose from an ever varying distribution of the steam. When the engine's velocity was greatest the pressure of steam kept driving it on at a still more furious speed, and when its velocity was least, the pressure was no greater than before. He determined to correct this, so he invented what engineers call "the governor." This is an ingenious contrivance, applied to the engine, for the purpose of controlling and regulating the supply of steam into the cylinder in such a manner as to render the action of the machine more efficient and economical, by causing it to move at a nearly uniform rate. The more the velocity increases the more the supply of steam is reduced. On the other hand, the more the velocity slackens, the greater is the amount of steam supplied. In this way the action of the governor is always making for equality, and though perfect equality is never attained, all extremes are most effectually avoided,

The body politic, with its many subordinate parts and members, may not inaptly be compared to some such complicated piece of machinery. What we greatly need is some modern Watt to invent a similar contrivance for the better regulation of its various activities, and for a more equitable distribution of wealth, so that those who most need help may get most, and those who need it least may get less. At present precisely the opposite obtains. Instead of power (steam) being applied more abundantly where the necessities are greatest, and being reduced where there is already a plethora of affluence and wealth, it is just the reverse that happens. Wealth and power not only attract more wealth and more power, but to such an extent, as at last to strip

weakness and poverty of their very last rag, and to leave them naked indeed.

Taxation, based in some measure on the principle of Watt's "Governor," would be a totally different and a far fairer thing than it is at present. For argument's sake, let us suppose that all taxation is represented by the income-tax.* Now it may seem very impartial to demand three per cent. upon all incomes over a couple of hundred pounds per annum, irrespective of persons and positions, but it is fair only in appearance. Such a tax presses far more severely on one whose income is £200 a year than on one whose income is £2000. A man with wife and children and but £200 a year is not rich. He can hardly indulge in luxuries. If you dock his modest fortune of even £6 per year, it is to him a matter of some real consideration. If on the other hand, you reduce a rentage of £10,000 to £9,700, by the same process, the tax is scarcely oppressive. To the modern Cræsus whose income is larger still, the tax hardly makes any perceptible difference whatever.

In spite of this, practically the same income tax is levied upon all, however much the income may exceed actual requirements. There are quite a considerable number of persons in receipt of from £50,000 to £100,000 a year. Now the slice that the taxes cut off their golden loaf to throw to the starving poor, still leaves them immeasurably more than they can possibly digest. To many it has seemed that a sense of true equity would require not an arithmetical, but what has often been suggested, a geometrical increase of the rate of taxation or progressive income-tax, as the income swells. If 3 per cent., for instance, be withdrawn from an income of £500, not only for the ordinary purposes of Government, but also to supply the pressing needs of the masses of ill-fed and scantily clothed poor, and to provide regular work and (when requisite) food and shelter, &c., then 6 per cent. should be drawn off an income of £1,000 per annum, and 12 per cent. from an income of £5,000 and so on, in regular proportion.

Thus an arrangement somewhat on the following lines

* Merely to simplify the illustration of the principle we are supposing all forms of taxation to be resolved into one.

though more nicely graduated is held to harmonise more nearly with the requirements of justice.

Percentage levied.		Present Income.		Gain.		Remaining Income.
3 per cent.	.	£500	...	£15	...	£485
6 "	"	1,000	...	60	...	940
12 "	"	5,000	...	600	...	4,400
24 "	"	10,000	...	2,400	...	7,600
48 "	"	50,000	...	24,000	...	26,000
96 "	"	100,000	...	96,000	...	4,000

The above is a mere illustration of a form of taxation which has commended itself to certain minds as much less unfair than what is now in force. If an arrangement were come to somewhat on these lines the effect would be, not to reduce all men to one dead level, which is neither desirable nor possible, but merely to establish a proportionality more equal and just than a purely arithmetical one: and to raise an effective barrier against the hideous extremes of wealth on the one hand, and of prostrate poverty on the other, which are a disgrace to our civilization. It will be noticed (1) that according to the above table, a man might go on accumulating wealth, as heretofore, but with less and less ease, till his income approaches £100,000 a year. But that (2) no one could pass beyond that limit, as the tax upon that amount reaches such a proportion that it would be prohibitive. In a word it would prevent the extremes which are clearly undesirable, if not positively wrong. It would do for Society what the "Governor" does for the steam engine.

There are undoubtedly many difficulties in the way besides the opposition of the powerful class who are so deeply interested. To ascertain precisely the value of a man's income is itself no easy matter. Many will not send in accurate returns, and honest tax-payers have often to pay for the dishonest; so that either a much more searching investigation must be instituted, which would be distressing and disturbing to privacy, or the tax would be unequally subscribed to.

But these and other difficulties should not be allowed to hinder a measure of general importance. It is the business of the State to labour for the welfare of the people, to face difficulties and to find a way out of them.

Another source of very natural complaint is that so much land

is allowed to remain barren and unprofitable. Acres upon acres of cover, and miles upon miles of deer forests,* and sheep walks exist in the United Kingdom, representing an enormous amount of capital ill-invested, and yielding nothing like what it might do under favourable management. "When an Englishman of title, in order to give himself the proud pleasure of affording grouse-shooting to his guests, turns into game preserves acres upon acres which might have supplied hundreds of human beings with food, we have a right to declare," says Gide, "that wealth has been culpably misused." It is, alas, too true! That, such tracts of land should be more economically employed is imperative,† and the law should make provision for it in the interests of the nation. The rude earth in its virginal state was able to supply enough for all, so long as the sum total of its inhabitants was small. But, the land does not increase with the population.

The superficies of the earth to-day, when fifteen hundred millions are drawing their sustenance from its bosom, is no greater than when there were but as many thousands. The cultivation which sufficed a thousand or even five hundred years ago, will not suffice to-day, still less will it suffice to-morrow. "Other times, other conditions."

It is strongly maintained by those who are authorities on the matter, that even land which is cultivated, might be rendered far more productive than it is at present. "If agricultural science," declares M. Charles Gide, "were as skilled as the science of mechanics in determining the theoretical returns, we might *doubtless* prove that the actual yield is not the hundredth part of what might theoretically be produced." Yet now England, in order to sustain on her limited territory her daily increasing population, is obliged to derive from

* In the old Roman Empire, laws were passed which absolutely limited the extent of land that could be retained by any one citizen. Thus, *e.g.*, the famous Licinian laws decreed that: "1. 'Aucun citoyen ne pourra posséder plus de 500 jugères (about 300 acres) de l' *ager publicus*. Le surplus lui sera retiré et partagé entre les citoyens pauvres par lots de sept arpents.'" Similar laws were in force regulating the number of cattle, and of labourers, &c. Historians agree that the grandeur of Rome was due to the Licinian code.—*Vide* "La Population," par E. Van der Smissen, p. 72.

† "The total number of separate instances in which *la petite culture* in one form or another exists in Great Britain, is estimated to be 1,300,000."—*Statesman's Year Book*, 1893, p. 67.

imports more than half of her consumption of cereals, meat, drink, etc.

For a nation of hunters, several square leagues are needed per head ; for pastoral races some square miles, for agricultural peoples a few acres suffice and the limit falls more and more as men pass from cultivating the land far and wide to cultivating it deeply and thoroughly ; *i.e.*, from *extensive* to *intensive* cultivation. In China this latter mode of cultivation enables several men to subsist on the produce of a single lot of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land.*

In Canada, writes M. Charles Gide, "it has been observed the native races that live by the chase require the enormous area of *fifteen square miles per head*, so that each man may continue to exist. Below this limit they are decimated by famine" Now the same would hold good in England to-day, were the whole country one vast hunting ground, and the people but a race of sportsmen. If it can now, in common with other countries of Western Europe, support between four and five hundred persons on a square mile,† instead of requiring fifteen square miles to support one, it is chiefly owing to the immense proportion of land under cultivation, and the extraordinary advance of agricultural knowledge throughout the civilized portion of the world.

If then, yet vaster multitudes of men are still to be supported by the produce of the same strictly limited territories of the world—and this from the very nature of things is necessarily the case—then agriculture must continue to improve its methods and become more and more scientific, and what is more directly to the point, great landowners must be compelled to bring under cultivation their unprofitable lands, and if necessary, to have recourse to the resources of science and art, in order, little by little, to convert every barren and ungracious spot, so far as it is possible, into a crop-yielding surface.

To pretend that England is populated beyond its capacity‡ is

* *Vide* Gide, p. 99.

† England's population, per square mile in 1891, was 498 ; but Belgium, where much less misery reigns, and the people are far more thrifty, the population is 539·5 to the square mile.—*Statesman's Year Book*, 1893.

‡ See an interesting letter in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Sept. 22, 1893, signed Wm. Sowerby, and concluding with the following paragraph : "General Cotton thinks that, with proper cultivation of the good land of the country,

to deck out fiction in the garb of truth. There is abundance for all if resources were not withheld or left unemployed. The unproductive land in this country alone is estimated at 20 per cent. of the entire surface.* That is to say, one-fifth part of the country is failing to contribute its quota to the public market. M. Thiers declares that "the nations of Europe have not cultivated, in some cases, a fourth part, in others a tenth part of their territory; and that there is not a thousandth part of the globe (*la millième partie du glob*) that is really occupied."†

We do not affirm that landed property should belong to the State, in any sense beyond that which already obtains. But on the principle of public utility as opposed to private whim, fancy, or interest, we most emphatically contend that society has a right to claim that it should be turned to account and used for the ultimate benefit of all.

If therefore extensive areas of uncultivated, or but half-cultivated land exist, the people, as represented by the Government, should exercise their authority and insist upon the owners gradually redeeming such land from sterility. If they will not, or cannot, then let the State make provision.

In this way not only would the sum total of comestibles be increased, and their price in consequence lowered, but healthy occupation would be found for a large number of hands, the ranks of the unemployed would be greatly reduced, and men would be happier and more prosperous.‡

Great Britain and Ireland would maintain 150,000,000, and he is no mean authority, but a man of vast experience. One thing is certain, *mankind can live without the fine arts and abstract sciences, but cannot live without food*; and the best thing that can now be done is to set about thoroughly cultivating the land, not in a dilettante fashion, and thus render the country independent of foreign sources of supply, as unfortunately we are not at present. Then, if warlike calamities should overtake us, we would not be unprepared, and not have to rely upon the vigilance of doubtful cruisers and unwieldy ironclads, which the smallest accident renders worse than useless."

* A. Deconnick, *Le monde économique*, 1886, p. 80, quoted by E. Van der Smissen.

† Thiers, "De la Propriété, 1880," p. 113.

‡ "So dense is the population in some districts (of Switzerland) that in five parishes and two villages on the Lake of Zurich there are only (*i.e.*, A.D. 1850) 10,400 acres under cultivation of every kind, and 8,498 souls, being scarcely an acre and a quarter to each individual. Yet in no part of the world is such general comfort conspicuous among the people—an example among the many others, which history affords, of the great truth that it is vice or oppression (or, we may add, mismanagement and injudicious laws) which induces a

Another measure which the pressing needs of the situation seem to render imperative is State regulation of labour, at all events in such industries as will more readily admit of it. Take for instance labour in mines, pits, and other subterraneous places, where the work is attended with almost every circumstance calculated to render it as hard and as irksome as it well can be. The light is dim and gloomy, the atmosphere impure, oppressive, and injurious, and the men are exposed to serious injury and even death* itself from escape of gas, from fire-damp, from sudden flooding of the pit, from falling in of the roof, the blocking up of passages, and other accidents of all kinds.† To engage in a life-long toil amid such gloomy depressing surroundings without leisure for any kind of self-culture or education, or proper relaxation, or the amenities of social life, or the practice of religion, is both demoralising and debasing. It is more than that, it is unhuman and unchristian.

Were the hours shortened but regular, several excellent effects would follow. In the first place a larger number of men would be employed. Where at present 600 men are working fourteen hours a day, 700 would be needed to accomplish the same work in twelve hours, and 840 if they worked but ten hours per diem. So that in the first supposition one hundred, and in the second supposition, two hundred and forty additional men would be taken on.

A second result would be an improvement in the condition—mental, physical and religious—of the working man. He would be less exhausted by his day's toil, and in every way healthier and stronger, and could do more effective work in a given time than he could do before. He would have more leisure to devote to family life, self-improvement, and the fulfilment of religious duties, and would be less like the

miserable population, and that no danger is to be apprehended from the greatest increase in the numbers of mankind if they are justly governed and influenced by virtuous habits."—A. Alison's "Hist. of Europe," p. 441.

* Mr. Burns pointed out that "in thirty years, 31,466 miners had been killed outright, which gave an average of over 1000 per annum; whilst more than 120,000 were injured every year."—*Vide* Speech at Battersea, Nov. 1893.

† "In the United Kingdom there are more than 648,000 persons occupied in the coal industries, and 1,084,631 in the textile factories." *Vide Statesman's Year Book*, 1893. A later estimate puts the number of persons employed in and about coal mines at 663,462.

unconscious wheel in some vast piece of machinery, grinding and wearing itself out in one ceaseless round of toil, till at last, without pity or commiseration, it is cast aside as unfit, to give place to another. We have heard men laugh at the bare notion of miners, mill-hands and others of that class devoting leisure to anything but drink and dissipation. But in so far as the laugh is justified, it is itself the most eloquent testimony to the demoralising nature of such occupations. Give the men opportunity; give them encouragement; put the facilities in their way, and help to undo the mischief done, and they will speedily prove themselves of the same clay as ourselves, and open to the same influences. "It is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels to make money by," says Leo XIII., "or to look upon them merely as so much muscle or physical power."

There can be no doubt but that the State has the requisite power, if the will were not wanting, to immeasurably improve the condition of the great masses who are ground down under the weight of adverse circumstances. To introduce any such measures as are here baldly hinted at, would be to make a demand on the *generosity*—would not *justice* be a more correct term?—of the ruling classes, which we can hardly hope they would regard with cordiality.

As long as man's inborn selfishness and natural egotism retains possession of his heart, and as long as self-interest pleads more powerfully than national and common interest, so long will the wealthy and the powerful hesitate, hold back, and refuse to join any really valuable movement inaugurated for the good of the people, if it involve any considerable pecuniary loss to themselves.

The influence of invested interests is too great, and results in the determined opposition of those who, on religious and philanthropic grounds, should be more than anxious to introduce a change in the legislature. The powerful and cultured leisured classes who are generally credited with breadth of view, largeness of heart, and fairness of mind, should be the last of all to take undue advantage of the accidents of birth and the freaks of fortune, and the very first to hail any practical means of ensuring a juster distribution of the good things of this world. If the precepts and maxims

of the Gospel found a more ready entrance into the hearts of our legislators, and if the true religious spirit of charity and brotherly love controlled their deliberations in a more appreciable degree, then their united action would inevitably lead to the establishment of laws and enactments which would gradually alleviate, if they did not actually end, the excessive miseries and sufferings under which so many millions of our fellow-countrymen at present groan without redress.

Thus it is easily seen that religion lies at the root and foundation of any permanent and radical cure. As sentiments of Christian charity become more diffused among the prosperous classes, and the equality of all men receives a more practical recognition, and as the awful responsibility of riches and the dignity of labour become more intimately felt, the national assembly will awaken to a keener sense of its duty, and will proclaim by its united action, as well as by its united voice, the universal brotherhood and fellowship of man.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

ART. IV.—THE GIFTS OF A PONTIFF.

EVERY now and again public interest is aroused by announcements in the papers of the Blessing of a Golden Rose by the Holy Father, and its presentation to some person of exalted rank; by reason of the poetic nature of the gift and the venerable character of its donor the news is always attractive, but little is ever told of the history of the custom or attempt made to elucidate its origin. In the following paper we propose to speak of this and other gifts of the Sovereign Pontiff, taking three which appear to have been the most prominent, successively, and in the order of their antiquity, not treating them exhaustively but with sufficient detail to impress upon our readers the intention with which these ceremonies have been instituted, and the appreciation with which these gifts have been received. Although we read occasionally of others, these three stand forth distinguished through the centuries, the gift of (1) a Key of St. Peter, (2) a Rose, (3) a Cap and Sword; the first seems to have entirely fallen into desuetude and the last, although we believe annually blessed, remains in abeyance. They all have a very early origin, but taking them in the rotation of their earliest mention yet known, they range themselves as we have placed them.

Early in the sixth century, Justinian, who was afterwards Emperor, made a request of St. Hormisdas the Pope for a relic of the body of St. Peter (Epp. et Decreta Hormis. Papae. Migne's "Patrol. Lat.," vol. 63, col. 475). This the Pontiff could not grant, but he sent instead a fragment of one of the chains with which the Apostle had been bound in the Mamertine Prison in Rome. These chains, whose commemoration we keep at Lammas (Aug. 1), are preserved in the Basilica built for their reception by the Empress Eudoxia in the fifth century, commonly called St. Peter ad Vincula, and lie in a chest with triple locks, one key being in the possession of the Pope, another in the care of the Cardinal who takes his title from the Church, and the third is with the Abbot General of the Austin Canons of the Lateran Congregation who serve the Basilica.

Whether the fragment of these chains sent to Justinian was enclosed in a key we are not told, but the practice of doing so was evidently in vogue before the close of that century, for St. Gregory the Great gives a very striking instance ("Epp. St. Greg." Epp. vij. 26. Migne edit.): The pagan Autharith, King of the Lombards, sent one back to Pelagius II. at Rome, his dread at retaining it having been aroused by the sudden death of one of his chieftains who had proposed to profane the relic. The great "Apostle of the English" himself sent many of these keys to various notable people, one to the Patriarch of Antioch (Epp. i. 26); another to Rechared, King of the Visigoths (Epp. ix. 122); others to Childebert, King of the Franks (Epp. vi. 6), while not only bishops and princes, but consuls, physicians, the governess of the children of the Emperor Maurice and such like received them at his hands. (Epp. i. 31; vij. 26, 28; viij. 35; xi. 14; xij. 7, &c.)

St. Vitalian in the seventh century presented a key with relics to the wife of Oswy, king of Northumbria, a princess whose piety was very conspicuous, and the Venerable Bede has preserved for us the letter sent to her by the Pope ("Hist. Eccles." iij. 29), telling how her beautiful life was notorious even in far Rome, and how her "*pia opera coram DEO fragrant et vernant.*"

Charles Martel and the Blessed Charlemagne received the same gift from Gregory III., and the last instance we read of took place in 1079, when the great Hildebrand—Gregory VII.—sent one to Alphonsus V., of Castile and speaks of following the custom of the Saints in doing so ("Epp. Greg. VII.," vi. 7. Migne).

These instances are only the more notable that present themselves, not nearly all that might be quoted if a more thorough examination were made. We hasten to describe what these reliquaries were in appearance, for it seems to have quite escaped notice that we have two of them mercifully preserved for us to this day, and they are the only examples known to exist. One is in the rich treasury of the old Collegiate Church of St. Servais at Maestricht, and the other only fifteen miles away in the Church of the Holy Cross at Liège. That at Maestricht is considered by the greatest and most trustworthy authorities to be of the fourth century, and, if so,

provides us with an earlier example than that recorded in the written testimony we have cited above. The Bollandists state that St. Servais received this key from Pope Damasus, probably upon the occasion of his pilgrimage to Rome in A.D. 376, and it was found in the Saint's coffin by St. Hubert when the relics were translated in the eighth century. An account may be seen in the Acts, in a work by Bock and Willemsen on the antiquities of this Church, in a paper by the learned Mr. Weale, of St. Kensington Art Library in *Le Beffroi* for 1864 (vol. ij. Bruges); and engravings of it and that at Liège accompany an able paper by Mr. Egerton Beck in *Archæol. Journ.* xlvij. 334; to the latter gentleman we are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of these treasures. The "Key of St. Servais," as it is locally called, is 15 inches long, with a bulbous handle of open work about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, the barrel is octagonal, and the key-bit cruciform pierced with five crosslets, reminding one of the Cross of Jerusalem. Dr. Bock and Willemsen think the material to be gold and silver, and remains of gilding are visible, but Mr. Weale is of opinion that silver and copper are its components; they entirely agree upon its early date, a fact which its workmanship confirms.

The second key we possess is that at Liège, and is thought to have been found in St. Hubert's coffin when his relics were translated in the ninth century. It has suffered damage during its long existence and the handle only is original, the remainder being thought twelfth century work. It is $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the bulbous reliquary handle 3 inches in diameter, grilled by narrow bands and with the interstices pierced to show the relic that remains within. This is a piece of chain about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, and since the Maestricht Key has no fragment, it is probable that in this case filings of the chain were mingled with the metal. The ornamentation is inferior in character to the older key, perhaps occasioned by the degradation that art sustained by the Teutonic inroads, and from which it did not recover until after the eighth century, the date usually attributed to this work.

A "Peter's Key" existed at Laon before the Revolution, and is mentioned in a 1523 inventory, and another is said to be in a church in Corsica, but we can hear nothing about

them. The *Vincula Petri* and the *Claves regni Cœlorum* are still sung of in the Breviary; the relic of them at Maestricht was the theme of a hymn for the chapter at Lauds and two proses in the old Missal, while it inspired the Limburg layman Henry van Veldeken. The earliest sculpture of St. Servais places his Key in his hand, and it appears not only in the arms of his church but also on the money that came from the imperial mint. And this presence of the key in the heraldry and art of the town may be a suggestive hint for searching further than we do when we meet with this badge, since we often too readily accept it as simply indicative of devotion to Peter and attachment to the Holy See.

St. Gregory in his letters (Epp. i. 30, 31; iij. 33; vi. 6; xi. 14; xij. 7) points out that these reliquary keys should be worn hanging from the neck, but the length of these at Maestricht and Liège would render that inconvenient for any constant habit; they may therefore have been put on for a few moments during prayer in the same manner as we place ourselves when possible in touch with a relic of a saint; and some people have seen a trace of this in the charm commonly used to arrest bleeding at the nose of dropping a key down the back of the patient.

Next we shall consider a gift still in practice and of not infrequent donation, that of the Golden Rose. Some say that it supplanted the gift of the key, and certainly we do not know of any record contradicting this assertion; we have, however, some grounds for the assumption that both customs co-existed. If it were true, as some assert, that the pretty courtesy of presenting a Rose blessed by the Pontiff dates from the fifth or ninth century, then they certainly did, but we know of no satisfactory evidence in favour of that early date. The last instance we read of when a Peter's Key was sent was that cited above in A.D. 1079, and it was in the pontificate of Leo IX. (A.D. 1049-1053) that a rose of gold is made a payment from the Abbey of St. Croix in Alsace; probably previous to this a natural flower had been borne by the Pope and given to favoured persons, and the change was to make it the rent to be rendered by this particular house. The parents and brothers of Leo founded the Abbey at Woppenheim in the neighbourhood of Colmar, and when they died

ship of the district came to His Holiness by right of succession. He bestowed many and great privileges upon the community, making them free of all jurisdiction save that of the Holy See and ordered them to send to Rome as a tenure every Oculi Sunday a Rose made of two Roman ounces of gold to be blessed "in the accustomed manner" (*ut fieri solet*) at Mid-Lent. ("L'histoire de Lorraine," by R. P. Dom Calmet, 1745.) It seems likely, therefore, that the golden gift dates as early as this at least, for the ceremony is evidently older. This bearing a Rose upon Mid-Lent Sunday was simply an expression of rejoicing. The mirth of Mi-Carême is still marked in Catholic countries, and the names that the day bears tell of much we are apt to forget. Laetare is one of its titles from the key-note of its introit, Jerusalem Sunday and Mothering Sunday from the Epistle being upon Jerusalem on high the mother of us all; Refreshment Sunday from the Gospel of the feeding the multitude in the wilderness; Rose Sunday from the ceremony we are considering. It was, moreover, the beginning of the week of the "Great Scrutiny," when for four days those catechumens who had passed the previous week's minor examination were registered for Baptism upon Holy Saturday, and this in early days was a great work. The sight of crowds of Pagans flocking for admission into the arms of the Great Mother is a thrilling scene we in Christian lands can never witness, but it was this which marked the joy of Mid-Lent in the early days of the Church, and of which we retain an echo in the custom once prevalent upon Mothering Sunday of lads and lasses visiting their earthly parents and hearing Mass together in the Church where in all probability they had been baptized.

To mark the joy of the Church on earth and in Heaven at the Redemption having gained for all men this admission into the Kingdom of God, the Pope went in procession bearing a Rose in his hand to the Church of St. Croce in Gerusalemme; very appropriately if we think of the name of the Sunday and of the Abbey whence the flower came. Now-a-days the ceremony takes place in the Sistine Chapel of the Lateran Basilica, where Rose-coloured vestments are employed for the occasion. The prayer for the consecration is little known and hard to find, but is so beautiful that we make a free translation of it from

[No. 9 of Fourth Series.]

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a work by an Archbishop elect of Corfu (Christopher Marcel, Venice, 1573, "Sacr. Cærem. S. Rom. Eccles.," l. v., p. 155) :

O God by Whose Word and power all things were made and by Whose Will the universe is governed, Thou Who art the joy and gladness of all the faithful; we humbly beseech Thy Majesty to vouchsafe of Thy fatherly goodness to Bless ✕ and Sanctify ✕ this Rose—most gracious to sight and smell. We bear it this day in our hands as a token of the spiritual rejoicing of a people dedicated to Thee and delivered from the yoke of Babylonish captivity by the favour of Thy only begotten Son, Who is the glory and exultation of Thy people Israel in that Jerusalem which is above and the Mother of us all. To the honour of Thy name by this emblem Thy Church to-day exults and rejoices, showing forth with pure heart its happiness; do Thou, O Lord, fulfil it with true and perfect joy, accepting its devotion and forgiving its sins, replenish it with faith, nourish it with Thy solicitude, shelter it with Thy tender mercy, destroy all things harmful to it, grant it all things healthful, until it pass by the fruit of good works into the sweetness of the perfume of that Flower which springs from Jesse's root, and is extolled as the Mystical Flower of the Field and the Lily of the Vale, and together with all Thy Saints may it rejoice with Him in glory celestial, Who liveth and reigneth God with Thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever—Amen.

In old days, when the chosen person was at Rome, the presentation was made at a special audience, the Cardinals and nobles accompanying their honoured guest back to his residence with imposing cavalcade. Now it is usual to send the Rose by a specially commissioned Legate, who delivers it at the Altar to the kneeling recipient. There is no fixed formula of words used, but they are of similar import to the following :

Receive, beloved child, this evidence and lasting token of the earnest love we bear thee, as much for thy signal services towards this Apostolic See as for the high virtues by which thou shinest among men. Accept this mystic rose, bedewed with balm and musk, typifying the sweet odours that should exhale from the good deeds of us all, especially of those in high places. Accept it, well-beloved, who in the temporal order art noble, mighty, and endowed with great power; and may virtue grow in thee ever as a rose planted beside rivers of waters, which grace may He who is Three and One for all eternity vouchsafe to grant you out of His abounding loving kindness.

Popular acclaim throughout all ages has acknowledged the sovereignty of the Rose among flowers; it might well, therefore, have been selected as the badge sent to one whose holy life and labours made them remarkable in that Hortus Sanctorum,

the Church. Pagan and Christian antiquity never dispute the position of this fair flower, and although the superb grace of the Lily may rise up to vie with it, and to some eyes surpass it in loveliness of moulded form, yet she has to retire from the contest when the fruitful store of the rose's virtues in scent and utility is considered; even in the language of symbolism the rose is supreme, for although the lily be the emblem of sweet purity, yet the flower of love again surpasses all and reigns queen among the theological virtues, since "the greatest of these is Charity." If the word "Lilies" in the Gospels had referred to those flowers they might have had the matchless claim of furnishing a theme for their Creator in His lessons among the flowers of the field, but the original word is not so limited; but Roses have been the subject of a long series of sermons by the Popes themselves, and when they left off preaching they took to writing rescripts upon them, so that there must be many volumes of words spoken and written by the Pontiffs in their praise, and the anointing of a Rose every year with the holy Chrism, the Balm of Kings, is like a yearly renewal of the sovereignty of the Queen of Flowers, and these are distinctions no other blossom can claim. In a rare work, "*La Rosa d'Oro Pontificia*" (Rome, 1681), by Carlo Cartari, you may read one of these sermons preached by Pope Innocent III., and a very beautiful "ten minutes" they must have been. He speaks of how our Saviour is mentioned in Holy Writ as the "*Flos Campi*," and that therefore this *Flos florum Campi* is most typical of Him; he tells how He who was "*speciosus forma prae filiis hominum*" finds an emblem in its beauty, and he traces out how that gold, musk, and balm, proclaim the Divinity, soul and body, of the Incarnate God, and that as the balm united the musk to the gold, so did the soul unite the Deity to the humanity in our Lord.

The last time that a Pope preached upon the subject was in 1458, when Pius II. was the speaker, but afterwards their briefs took up the same strain of tender piety. Innocent XI. wrote to Queen Mary Casimir of Poland:

We send you the gift of the Golden Rose, enriched with all Apostolic benedictions, not a fleeting and vanishing blossom like that which fades and decays in this valley of trouble, but one in whose solidity and per-

manency there is a likeness of the lasting felicity that the just enjoy in the eternal beatitude.

Innocent XII. says to Amalia, Queen of Hungary :

We have determined to send you this Golden Rose, grown amidst the very Altars of the Church in the sweet atmosphere of the holy incense which has been bountifully bedewed by showers of heavenly benedictions.

Clement X. reminds Queen Mary of Spain that it is no flower trained by secular culture that he sends to her,

not one culled for the dalliance of the hour, but one gathered by our own hands at the holy altars, and bountifully watered with celestial benedictions. In that most lovely flower, whose perfume is the Faithful, the Church by ancient custom typifies the joy of both Jerusalems.

It is usually thought that the ceremony of blessing this lovely emblem was confined to Rome, but this is incorrect, for in the days when Europe formed one family in fidelity to the Holy Father, and he could move about among his children, the rite was observed wherever he might be upon Mid-Lent. Thus, in 1096, we read that Urban II. being in Turin, consecrated the Rose at the Church of St. Martin, and gave it to Fulke, Count of Anjou, and this so delighted that prince that he ordered it to be borne by himself and his successors every Palm Sunday in gratitude to that Pontiff. He is said also to have been the first who received it outside Rome, the prefect of that city having always had it previously. In 1163 Alexander III. visited Paris in Lent and gave the Rose to the young King Louis VII., and the same Pontiff, when at Venice fourteen years later, consecrated one at the high altar of St. Mark's, and presented it to the Doge. The first lady who received it was Joanna, Queen of Sicily, in 1362, to whom Urban V. awarded it when she was spending her Lent in Rome.

Amongst English-speaking peoples there are several records of this honour being conferred. Pope Eugenius, in 1446, sent one to Henry VI. of England; Innocent VIII. gave one forty years later to James III. of Scotland; Henry VIII. received no less than three, exceeding in this it would seem most other people in number—it was of course in the days of his fervour, while the example of earnest devotion to the faith

shown by his predecessor was fresh, and passion had not dulled religion in his soul. So ardent was he for holy Church that the year succeeding his succession Julius II. gave him the *Rose bénite*, and conferred upon him the title, which fifteen years later he interpreted by his acts into Destructor instead of Defensor Fidei; Leo X. renewed the gift, and the year before his apostacy Clement VII. endeavoured to strengthen him in ways of virtue by a similar display of fatherly affection. In his brief the Pope prettily alludes to the flower being the badge of England. "*Rosam quoque ob praeclaras dotes hujus Floris video esse luculentissimum symbolum Anglici regni.*" Queen Mary had one from Julius III. at her succession in 1555, and the last Catholic Queen of England, Henrietta Maria, wife of the Protestant Charles I., was also chosen for the honour by Pope Urban VIII. This was the last occasion that the *Rosa aurea* came to British lands, and perhaps there is not one in the possession of any noble family of these islands, save it be with the pious Empress of the French, who has so long honoured us by her sojourn.

It is not a gift confined to those of royal birth any more than to that sex which appears now alone to receive it—the instances we have quoted show this latter assertion to be true—and the giving of it to the Baronne Vigier, a Queen of Song in 1874, is a proof of the former. We have, moreover, an early record confirming this latter statement in the interesting history of a member of the ancient family of De Mohun. The great and good Reginald, who died in 1258, wished to found an abbey at Newenham, in Devonshire, and needing the Pope's consent he set out for Lyons, where a Council of the Church was then sitting. The pious old man so charmed the Pontiff that he desired to give him the Golden Rose, but Reginald said that he was of no rank suited to such an honour, whereupon, according to Davidson's History of the Abbey (p. 208), the Pope made him an "Apostolic Earl," and enjoined that a pension of 200 marks should be yearly paid to Reginald out of the Peter's Pence of the kingdom, upon the high altar of St. Paul's, London.

Nor is the presentation made only to individuals but capítular bodies and favoured shrines have had the Rose sent to them. Three times has Loretto been thus honoured, viz.,

by Gregory XIII., Clement VIII., and Sixtus V.; the picture of the Saviour in the tabernacle of the chapel at top of Sancta Scala had one from Clement VII.; the Bambino, in the Ara Coeli; the picture of the Virgin at the Liberian Basilica; the Madonna d'Halle in Flanders, all have been similarly honoured, while we believe the present Pope has sent one to Lourdes. The Canons of St. Justus of Lyons, had one from Innocent IV. in the thirteenth century, in recognition of the hospitality they had displayed towards the council that sat there; Pope Urban V., in 1362, sent one from Avignon to the Basilica of St. Peter's, Rome, which being lost in 1527, was replaced by another in 1567 at the hands of Pius V. In 1726 Benedict XIII. gave one to the Cathedral of Capua; in 1833, Gregory XVI., did the same to St. Mark's, Venice; while an interesting precedent for our democratic times is happily to be found in 1564, when Pius IV. sent one to the Republic of Lucca.

A fourteenth century example of the Rosa d'oro is preserved in the interesting Clugny Museum in Paris, being one that was sent to the Prince Bishop of Bâle by Clement V. An engraving of what the usual type is may be seen in Angeli Rocca's "*Thesaurus Pontificiarum Antiquitatum*" (page 207). They are not, however, made to any one model, and have long exceeded the "two Roman ounces of gold" of the original tenure right. Now they are said to cost at least £500; at first it is said to have been a single flower, coloured red, and more like a carnation, but later it became a bush, forged of fine gold and with wrought branches, leaves, buds, and flowers, all of exquisitely delicate craftsmanship. The petals of the highest blossom were formed of the most daintily chased lamina of the precious metal, often enriched with jewels. In the centre is a small receptacle into which the Balsam is dropped and upon which powder of musk is sprinkled. The plant itself stands about 15 inches high, rising gracefully from a bowl or stand bearing the pontifical arms, &c. One sent to Henry VIII., Stow tells us, was set in a pot with 3 feet of an antique fashion, the whole tree being half a yard in height and a foot in breadth, while the uppermost rose bore a fair sapphire, loup pierced, the bigness of an acorn.

It may be from this custom of giving a Rose that we find

that flower assigned to the arms of St. Peter, which are described by some old heralds as "Argent, six rosettes gules, 2, 2, 2, paleway," and Didron tells us of an ancient mosaic in the Church of St. Susanna, Rome, in which Charlemagne is pictured receiving from St. Peter the standard of the Church powdered with these flowers. Another instance is a fresco of our Blessed Lord meeting at the Quo Vadis the Apostle who bears a banner with six roses, and in the east window of Woodmanstone Church, Surrey, the Saint's robe is *sémé* of the same. About Bologna on St. Peter's Day it is the practice to wear a Rose Carnation, and probably the presence of this flower in the armorial bearings of cathedral and collegiate bodies, as also in those of ancient noble houses in Europe, might be found to bear a reference to the Saint or the gift of his successor. We certainly have an example of this latter in the case of Reginald de Mohun, of whom we have spoken and of whom we read in the Register of Newenham in British Museum (fol. 38)—"*Reginaldus de Mohun fundator hñ domus portavit de gouples les escu ove la manche d'argent ermyne e en la mayn de argent une florete de or.*"

If this presentation of a Rose were not earlier than the eleventh century then it was anticipated in the sixth by St. Medard, Bishop of Noyon, who instituted the pretty custom of La Rosière at Salency, when instead of a Pope and Cardinals selecting the recipient the vote of her village companions determined the wearer of the White Rose crown. This was a counterpart in humble life of the honourable distinction of which we have been speaking, and both sovereign and subject, noble and peasant, were encouraged to aim at lives of virtue by the guerdon of a flower.

We have so far spoken of two forms of Papal favour, one entirely past, and one in practice to this present; our third is in abeyance for reasons which will be apparent, it is the gift of *Lo stocco e il beretto*—the Sword and Cap. In the days when Christendom was united in faith and in attachment to the Pope, there was a very clear meaning in this gift which to us to-day is well nigh lost.

The gift of the Sword was sent by the Pope to those whom he deemed worthy of knighthood in the cause which he represents on earth; when pagan hordes were assailing Christendom,

when the wolves of heresy were rending the fold, when kings were false to their oaths and forgot their people's needs for their selfish indulgences, then the watchman upon Peter's Rock had to summon his paladins and enforce justice when entreaty failed. Before the Reformation the sense of a whole community at unity in faith acknowledged the wisdom and the rightness of the use of temporal weapons against disturbers of their peace in religion as much as we do now in political affairs, for then it was rebellion against truth, known and certain, and hence wilful sin, but now no longer is that so, since ignorance of the truth has become habit, and hence not wilful in the community.

But we are, perhaps, giving too much the impression that the sword was sent only to those of whom temporal aid was sought to repel the rievvers of the Church's tilth and lea, and that would be untrue. It was a token of friendly reliance, rather than an actual commission. By some its origin is placed in the ninth century, but Cartari says, on the authority of the erudite Contelori, that no mention is found of it before the pontificate of Boniface VIII., elected in 1291, while Urban VI. is stated to have added the blessing of the Cap in 1385. We think, however, we have found an example of both in our own annals earlier than any known to these learned people, and that is in Holinshed's history (304).

"About the year 1202," he says, "the Pope sent a Legate to King William (the Lyon) of Scotland, presenting him with a Sword, with a sheath and hilts of gold, set full of rich precious stones. He presented unto him also a Hat or Bonnet made in manner of a Diadem of purple hue, in token (it should mean) that he was Defender of the Church."

The blessing of the Cap and Sword takes place annually, we believe, at the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, immediately before the Matins that precede the Midnight Mass of the Nativity. The words of Jeremias to Judas Maccabaeus are used at its presentation: "Take this holy sword, a gift from God, with the which thou shalt smite the adversaries" (Macc. II. xv., 12-17), and the allusions to the Sword of the Spirit and the Helmet of Salvation indicate the mystical meanings attached to them. We have fortunately preserved to us an example of the Sword and its Belt, but we are not aware of any of that of the Beretto. At the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, London, on May 19, 1892, was exhibited a handsome baldric, or belt,

which, after many vicissitudes, had been saved from revolutionists, and was the property of an English clergyman, who has lately most generously restored it to be united to the state sword of Scotland to which it had belonged. It had been sent by Pope Julius II. to King James IV., and is woven with the arms, keys, and tiara of the Pontiff, and has a splendid silver buckle ornamented with blue enamel. Mr. Franks, the President of the Society, tells me that he discovered a very fine papal sword in the lumber room of the Museum at Cassel, and that another with part of the belt exists at Zurich. These swords became part of the regalia, and were borne before princes upon state occasions.

The Caps are of velvet, lined and turned up with ermine, set with pearls, bound round with a golden cord and bearing upon the top or centre a dove as emblem of the Spirit of Wisdom. They do not seem to have been of one colour, for we read of purple, grey and crimson examples. The Cap of Estate, commonly called the Cap of Maintenance (meaning held by the hand while the sovereign wore the crown, *tenu par la main*), has been identified by some with this gift of the Holy See. When the sovereign in England opens Parliament in State, this cap is borne before him, by some nobleman, upon a short staff. A claim to the right of bearing this cap was made by a Marquess of Winchester, upon the death of the Duke of Bolton in 1794, and the desired privilege was graciously conceded! Ambitions such as these may be amusing to many minds, but they take us back in thought to early days at the formation of the courts of the Emperors of the West, when to be Master of the Horse, or of the Hawks, Count of the Stable (Constable), or Cup-bearer to the King, were active officials around the throne.

Among other occasions, when *Lo stocco e il beretto* were presented, we find some of general interest, such as in 1385, when Urban VI. gave them to the President of the Luccese Republic. May we hope that one day a similar honour may fall to America? In 1414 the Emperor Sigismund received them after the Mass of Christmas Day, and Edward IV. of England was likewise selected in 1483. Pope Alexander VI., fourteen years later, sent them to Henry VII., who lies in the magnificent Lady Chapel he built at Westminster Abbey, and he received

them with great ceremony. We read in the King's life, by Kennet (i. 521), that the Mayor of London and his brethren were bidden to meet the Pope's ambassador at the city bridge, and that all the streets between Bridge-foot and the "Palace of Paul's," where the King then lay, were garnished with the citizens standing in their liveries. On the morrow after, being Allhallows Day, the King, attended by many of his prelates, nobles, and principal courtiers, went in procession to St. Paul's, the Sword and Cap being borne before him; and after the procession, the King himself remaining seated in the Quire, the Lord Archbishop, upon the grice or step of the Quire, made a long oration, setting forth the greatness and eminency of that honour which the Pope in these ornaments and ensigns of benediction, had done the King; and how rarely, and upon what high deserts, they were bestowed.

James IV. of Scotland's sword we have already mentioned, and James V. had another from Paul III. in 1535, when the Legate addressed him as "Defender of the Faith," and spoke of the manner in which his uncle in England (Henry VIII.) had abused that title. In 1514 Henry VIII. had also received the cap and sword from Leo X., for in those years he was proud of entitling himself Champion of the Holy See. There is an account of the intense joy with which he received the gift, telling how "the maior, the aldermen and the crafts stode in the strets," and at the west end of St. Paul's the protonotary and his attendants were met by the clergy, all "in pontificalibus," and how the "Qwere of Powlys" sang "antiphes," &c. Badoer, the Venetian Ambassador, who was present, made great mirth in the account he sent home of Henry's behaviour, for he seemed beside himself with joy. After being girt with the sword, and having had the cap placed for a moment upon the head, it was usual for them to be borne before the prince, but Henry would have none of this, but kept them on, and made the procession round the church with the great sword getting in his way at every step, and the great cap, a foot long, slipping down over his ears and eyes, however he tilted it. The last occasion of this gift being sent to England was in the reign of Queen Mary, who received the Golden Rose, when her husband, Philip of Spain, had the Sword and Cap from Pope Julius II.

There are other gifts occasionally mentioned as coming from the Holy See, but some do not seem to have been distinctive, and others seldom repeated. The Venerable Bede (H.E., ij. 10, 11) tells us of a *camisia* and golden ornament sent by Boniface V. to King Edwin, and of a gilded ivory comb and silver mirror for his Queen; four rings came to Richard Cœur de Lion in 1189 with typical stones—emerald, sapphire, granatus, and opaz; the Pope's Palm was sent in the ninth century, it is said, and perhaps the "phoenix feather" books speak of as received by Tyrone, King of Ulster, from Clement VIII., was this branch of the *Phoenix dactylifera*, or palm. Sixtus IV. sent an oak branch of gold to the cathedral of his native place, Sienna, with reference to his name. Barrière states that Lances were once blessed "*pour les enfans des rois*"; Blessed Banners also were sometimes given. The title of supreme command of the Papal forces was that of Gonfaloniere, or Standard Bearer, and this is probably what is meant in the mosaic of St. Susanna, to which we have referred, where Charlemagne is being presented with a standard. William of Normandy is said to have received one, and other instances might be found. An engraving of one of these banners may be seen on the cover of the "Schweizerisches Landes Museum" printed at Zurich in 1890. It represents one given by Julius II., and consists of the arms of Zurich per bend argent and azure with a panel at one corner of embroidery on which are the Coronation of the Virgin and the arms of the Pope.

A. E. P. RAYMUND DOWLING.

ART. V.—A VISITATION OF ST. MARY CHURCH IN A.D. 1301.*

WHEN the Devonshire Association met at St. Mary Church in 1887, I read a paper in which I endeavoured to trace the history of that ancient village in Saxon and Norman times. Since then additional light has been thrown upon the mediæval history of St. Mary Church by the labours of Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph, in his admirable edition of the *Episcopal Registers* of Walter de Stapeldon. It is true that the record to which I propose to call attention does not properly belong to the episcopate of Bishop Stapeldon, for that prelate was not elected until the November of 1307, whereas the record in question gives the result of a Visitation held in 1301, the year before Walter de Stapeldon was appointed canon of Exeter, and when he was simply rector of Aveton-Gifford. The record is, in fact, an extract from the *Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter*. But Prebendary Randolph has done well to publish this interesting episode, and has guarded his readers against mistakes by putting it in brackets. The Latin original will be found at the end of this paper.

As the idea of a Visitation has considerably changed in these times from what it was understood to be in mediæval England, and is still in Catholic countries, it may be well to remind ourselves of what a Visitation properly means.

The Visitation of his diocese has always been considered one of the most essential duties of a bishop. It is, in fact, involved in the very name of his office—*Episcopus*—one who oversees things. He is bound, at certain times, personally to look into every portion of the charge committed to him, with his own eyes to see all his clergy, to examine the churches, chapels, and oratories, the convents, and other ecclesiastical institutions, unless especially exempted from his jurisdiction. He has to examine the schools and other places of education. He has to take account of the property of ecclesiastical foun-

* By the Right Rev. Monsignor Brownlow, M.A.—Read before the *Devonshire Association* at Torquay, July, 1893.

dations, and to see that they are rightly administered. Of course, many details he must necessarily leave to his vicars-general, to the archdeacons, rural deans, and other assistants, to whom he may delegate his powers. The Visitation will vary in its procedure, according to whether it is a parish or a convent that has to be visited.

In mediæval times there were frequent disputes as to the power of a Metropolitan to visit the dioceses of his suffragan bishops as well as his own. The Council of Trent finally settled these disputes by laying down: "Metropolitans may not, even after a full Visitation of their own diocese, visit the cathedral churches or the dioceses of their own comprovincials, except for a cause made known and approved in a Provincial Council."* However, it seems to have been the custom in England in the thirteenth century. Archbishop Peckham writes from Chudleigh, on May 28th, 1282, to Bishop Quivil, telling him that he heard that the bishop had been molesting Master Philip, Archdeacon of Barnstaple, because the archbishop had sent him to Rome on ecclesiastical business, *pro ecclesie nostræ negotiis*; and he requests him not to disturb him, but to leave him in peaceful possession of his rights and benefices.† In another letter, dated Slyndon, May 28th, 1282, he says, "In our late Visitation of the diocese of Exeter, we inquired into various charges against the Archdeacon of Cornwall," &c.‡ Pope John XXII., by a Bull, dated Avignon, October 15th, 1326, gave full powers to Walter Raynold, Archbishop of Canterbury, "freely to visit the dioceses of your suffragans, as you shall see fit, once only, any Constitutions notwithstanding."§ But, in 1332, Bishop Grandisson appealed to the apostolic See against the Visitation of his cathedral and diocese by Archbishop Mepham; and issued a solemn inhibition to the dean, forbidding him on pain of the greater excommunication from publishing the Primate's letters. The Archbishop came, but was met at the door of the church by the Bishop of Exeter with a strong guard, and the Metropolitan had to return to London without having effected his Visitation.

* Sess. XXIV. *de Ref.* 13.

† *Ibid.* p. 83.

† Wilkins' *Conc.* II. 67.

§ *Ibid.* p. 533.

There was a difference in the method of the Visitation, according as it was ordinary or extraordinary. An extraordinary Visitation, on account of some parochial scandal that required investigation, would be made without notice, in order that the evil might be more easily detected.

The ordinary or canonical Visitation was announced some time beforehand, and the parishioners were stirred up to prepare themselves for the visit of the chief pastor. The church would be put in order, the sacred vessels and vestments cleaned and renovated, a list of all the articles used in divine worship prepared, the Missals and other Liturgical books would be examined, the clerks and choir boys admonished to be on their best behaviour. Then the children would be prepared for confirmation; obdurate sinners would be admonished that their case would be made known to the bishop, and if they did not repent, they might be visited with excommunication. There were no heretics in England in the time of Edward II., so that there would be no need for the bishop to inquire after them. But the parish priest would have to look to his own ways. The bishop would not only inspect his church and its ornaments, his house and all its arrangements, his glebe and its accounts, but he would invite the parishioners to state any complaints they might have against their priest. He would inquire how often he preached, whether he said Mass and heard confessions frequently, whether he catechised the children, whether he was diligent in visiting the sick and dying, whether he was often absent from his parish, and whether he was avaricious in exacting his dues. A Visitation was no doubt a safety-valve for letting off a great deal of suppressed ill-feeling, but the complainants were strictly admonished as to the grave sin of false accusations, especially against their pastor, and the bishop would be on his guard against *ex parte* statements.

Bishops in the middle ages travelled with a certain amount of state, and many Councils found it necessary to admonish them to be careful not to become burdensome to their clergy by the number of their attendants, or by requiring or accepting unnecessary sumptuousness in their entertainment. Even seventy years ago there was no carriage road to St. Mary Church, and we may take it for granted that the bishop made

his Visitation on horseback. As soon as his approach was observed, the church bells would ring a joyful peal, the parish priest in surplice and cope, attended by his clerks, would go forth to the entrance of the churchyard, or perhaps of the village, where a carpet would be spread. As soon as the bishop arrived he alighted from his horse, knelt down and kissed the cross presented to him by the priest, and then walked, under a canopy borne by the magistrates or chief men of the place, to the porch of the church, where the priest presented him with the holy water brush, with which he sprinkled himself, the clergy, and the people. He then blessed the incense, and was incensed three times by the parish priest. The bishop then proceeds up the church, adores the blessed Sacrament, which in Exeter Cathedral used to be reserved in a silver vessel shaped like a dove, suspended over the high altar; and, after a short private prayer for the success of his Visitation, the parish priest recites some versicles and prayers. Then the bishop goes up to the altar and gives the people his benediction. He then addresses the people from his throne, or from the pulpit, and explains the object of the Visitation, and the order in which it will take place, and anything that he thinks advisable to say to them. After his sermon a cleric sings the *Confiteor*, the parish priest announces the indulgence of forty days, which the bishop grants, and afterwards gives the benediction. He then puts on an amice and a purple or black stole, and a cope, and goes out to the churchyard, where he says the *De Profundis*, and certain prayers for the faithful departed.

If the bishop does not hold the Visitation himself, the vicar-general, or the priest delegated to hold it must be provided with letters authorising him to act in this capacity, and defining the limits within which he is to confine his inquiries. These letters are to be read out by a notary to the clergy and people as soon as the Visitor enters the church. In this case, of course, all the ceremonial which has reference to the episcopal character is omitted, and there is no indulgence or benediction. Prebendary Randolph gives, on p. 149, a presentment by the dean and chapter to Bishop Stapeldon of the persons to whom they ask him to issue a commission to visit the churches and property belonging to

them in the Archdeaconry of Exeter, dated October 4th, 1319.

We shall get a clearer idea of what was to be expected in this Visitation of St. Mary Church in 1301, if we refer to a Synod held in Exeter, under Bishop Quivil in April, 1287. Its decrees are contained in fifty-five chapters, which occupy thirty-nine folio pages of Wilkins' *Concilia*, and throw more light than any other record that I have ever seen upon the social and religious life of Devonshire in the reign of Edward I. The Roman See was vacant, and Peckham was Archbishop of Canterbury. A comparison of these decrees with the documents preserved in Lyndwood's *Provinciale* shows that one main object of the Synod of Exeter, was to publish the acts of what Lyndwood calls the "Pan-Anglican Council" (*Concilium Pan-Anglicum*), held in St. Paul's, London, under Cardinal Otho, Legate of the Holy See in 1236; and those of another Council held in the same place under Cardinal Othobonus in 1268; together with certain constitutions of Archbishop Peckham issued at Reading in 1279. Hence, the Synod of Exeter orders a copy of its decrees to be written out before the coming Michaelmas, and preserved in every church. The fortieth chapter is "on Archdeacons' Visitations," and the Synod requires the four archdeacons "to visit every year each church within their archdeaconry, and keep an inventory of their vestments, books, vessels, and other ornaments, so that they may see what have been superadded by the diligence of the parish priests since the time of the former visitation, and what have been deteriorated or lost in the meantime by their negligence.*

It seems that monasteries used sometimes to supply those churches that belonged to them with books that had been cast aside by the monks as worthless, because incorrectly copied, and so the priests were led into erroneous readings, which made the more educated laymen deride them as simpletons. I need not remind you of the old story of *mumpsimus* and *sumpsimus*. It also appears that priests of poorly supplied churches used sometimes to borrow sacred ornaments from their richer neighbours, and pass them off as their own, and so

* Cap. XL.

escape blame. The Synod forbids this fraud under pain of excommunication.*

In order to prevent unnecessary expense, the archdeacons are forbidden to invite any of their own friends to accompany them. If the rector chooses to ask some outsiders to meet them, this is not forbidden; but if any one intrudes himself, he is to be suspended if a cleric, if a layman to be quietly set right, and instructed not to intrude again. The archdeacon is not to exact, or allow his men to exact, anything more than the old-established charges; and in poor churches, which on account of their poverty have been hitherto exempt from charge, he is not to exact anything.

The manor, or rather one of the manors of St. Mary Church, had been, since the time of Edward the Confessor, the property of the canons of Exeter; and the bishop required them to visit the church and ecclesiastical institutions, which would not have belonged to them simply in their capacity as lords of the manor, or as patrons of the benefice. The acts and records of the chapter were submitted to the bishop's inspection, and the bishop would then be relieved from the obligation of making a visitation himself. The Visitors appointed by the chapter in 1301 were Robert de Veteri Terra, which may, perhaps, be fairly translated Oldfield, and John of Uphavene, who are called "seneschals of the chapter." The former is mentioned in a will of 1295, as *firmarius* of Topsham Church, and the latter was sub-dean of the cathedral, and canon penitentiary. He was the first who held that office, which Bishop Quivil endowed with the Rectory of Egloshayle in Cornwall. The Penitentiary was, according to the deed of institution, given by Prebendary Randolph in Bishop Quivil's *Registers*,† to spend six months of the year in hearing confessions, especially of sick persons, in all parts of the diocese. Thus he would fitly represent the spiritual authority of the chapter, while Robert Oldfield would represent its temporal authority.

At the beginning of this century, as I have said, there was no carriage road to St. Mary Church, and the Visitors must have ridden over from Exeter, or probably from Staverton, where they had been the day before.‡ In their twofold

* Cap. XI.

† Pages 324, 325.

‡ *Bishop Stapeldon's Registers*, p. 378.

[No. 9 of *Fourth Series*.]

capacity as lords of the manor, and as representatives of the bishop, they were doubtless received with much respect, and after the customary prayers they commenced their Visitation. They evidently took the Exeter Synod as their guide, and reported accordingly.

To begin with the high altar and its furniture. The Synod lays down,* "Let there be in every church at least one chalice, pure silver or silver-gilt. A vessel of silver or pewter for the sick, that the priest may have a washing for his fingers in the same after the sick have received the Eucharist. . . . A pyx for

* SYNOD OF EXETER HELD UNDER BISHOP QUIVIL, A.D. 1287.

Cap. XII. *De ecclesiarum ornamentis, et eorum custodia.*

Sit in qualibet ecclesia saltem unus Calix argenteus, purus vel deauratus: ciphus argenteus vel stanneus pro infirmis, ut postquam eucharistiam assumpserint, loturam digitorum suorum sacerdos sibi præbeat in eodem. Sint duo corporalia munda et integra cum repositoriis: duo paria vestimentorum: quorum unum festivale aliud feriale: quatuor tuellae ad majus altare, quarum saltem duæ sint benedictæ et una illarum cum parura; item ad quodlibet altare, cum contigerit missam inibi celebrari. Sint superpellicea duo et unum rochetum; velum quadragesimale; velum nuptiale; palla mortuorum: frontellum ad quodlibet altare; missale bonum, gradale, troparium, manuale bonum, legenda, antiphonale, psalteria, ordinale, venitare, ymnpnale, collectare.

Præsens Synodus scripta habeatur in singulis ecclesiis citra festum S. Michaelis. Cista ad libros et vestimenta. Pyxis argentea vel saltem eburnea ad eucharistiam cum serura. Chrismatorium stanneum cum serura. Asser ad pacem. Pyxis ad oblatas. Tres phialæ. Sacramentarium lapideum, et immobile. Thuribulum. Vas ad incensum, vas ad aquam benedictum. Hercia ad tenebras. Candelabrum paschale. Duæ cruces; una fixa, et alia portabilis. Imago Beatæ Virginis, et Sancti loci ejusdem. Cereus paschalis. Duo cerei processionales. Caelatura super altare. Campanella deferenda ad infirmos, et ad elevationem Corporis Christi. Lucerna Boeta. Campanellæ ad mortuos. Feretrum mortuorum. Baptisterium lapidem bene seratum. Fenestræ vitræ sufficientes in cancello et navi ecclesiæ. . . .

Item audivimus, quod propter sedilia in ecclesia rixantur multoties parochiani, duobus vel pluribus unum sedile vendicantibus; propter quod grave scandalum in ecclesia generatur et divinum sæpius impedit officium; statuimus, quod nullus de cætero quasi proprium sedile in ecclesia valeat vendicare, nobilibus personis et ecclesiarum patronis duntaxat exceptis; si qui orandi causa primo ecclesiam introierit, juxta propriæ voluntatis arbitrium sibi eligat orandi locum.

Præcipimus insuper, quod de ecclesiarum instauro, ipsius custodes, coram rectoribus vel vicariis ecclesiarum, seu saltem capellanis parochialibus; et quinque vel sex parochianis fide dignis, quos ipsi rectores, vicarii vel capellani de hoc duxerint eligendos, quodlibet anno computum fideliter reddant, et redigatur in scriptis; quam scripturam præcipimus loci archidiacono, cum visitat, præsentari; nec ipsum instaurem in alios usus, quam ecclesiæ, ullatenus convertatur; unde si parochiani pro defectibus ecclesiæ, seu pro aliis demeritis, amerciari contigerit, de proprio satisfaciant, instaure ecclesiæ integre remanente. Et quia nonnunquam certi relictus et instaurem cantariis, altaribus, seu luminaribus assignatur; præcipimus, quod ipsa in alios usus ecclesiæ minime convertantur, nisi necessitas vel saltem æquitas aliter suadeat ordinare, loci archidiaconi, vel saltem rectoris accedente concessu.

the Eucharist of silver or pewter with a lock. A board (*asser*) for the Pax. A pyx for the unconsecrated altar-breads (*oblatus*). Three cruets. An altar-slab (*sacramentarium*) of stone and immovable. A thurible; a vessel for incense; a vessel for holy water." Our Commissioners report that at St. Mary Church they found "a chalice sufficiently good, gilt inside. No pyx for the Eucharist; but there was a pyx for the altar-breads. A chrismatory of wood with a lock." This was for keeping the parochial stock of the holy oils. "No vessel for the visitation of the sick. A decent little Pax-board." This was a metal instrument for giving the kiss of peace with at Mass. The *asser* or board mentioned by the Synod shows that it was of wood, often with a metal plate upon it.* The Synod said there should be "two corporals, clean and sound, with burses for the same. Two sets of vestments, one for festivals, the other for ordinary days (*aliud feriale*). Four cloths at the high altar, two of which must be blessed, and one of them with a border round it. Let there be two surplices and one rochet. A Lenten veil, a nuptial veil, a pall for the dead. A frontal at each altar." The Visitors report "Three sets of vestments, of which one chasuble is sufficiently good, and two others not so. Only one surplice, old and in holes. A rochet barely fit for use." The rochet differs from the surplice in having the sleeves closely fitting to the arms instead of being loose and flowing. It is now restricted to prelates and canons; but seems to have been worn in England by serving-boys at Mass, as it is now in France. "Five (altar) cloths blessed, of which one has a border, and a sixth cloth unblessed. Four cruets sufficiently good. The frontal at the high altar is of silk and tolerable." The Synod said there must be "a paschal candlestick, two crosses; one fixed, the other portable. A paschal candle. Two processional candles." At St. Mary Church, there were "a processional cross in sufficiently good order, two processional candlesticks of pewter."

* See under Stoke Canon, *Bishop Stapeldon's Register*, p. 380: "Asser cum metallo in superficie in quo figuratur Imago Crucifixi. Paxillum cum lapide de viridi marmore."

Mr. Maskell says: "Examples of paxes are to be seen in many public collections of works of mediæval art; in metal, silver, and ivory: 'iiij tyttel pax-bredes of tre' belonged to the parish of St. Mary Chepe in 1431."—*Ancient Liturgy*, p. 172.

The Visitors seem to have first inspected the books which were in the church. The Synod had directed that in every church there should be "a good Missal, a Gradale, a Troparium, a good Manuale, a Legenda, an Antiphonale, Psalters, an Ordinale, a Venitare, a Hymnale, a Collectare."

The *Gradale*, or Gradual, contained the words and music of the introits, graduals, offertory, and communion verses, in fact all that was ordinarily sung by the choir during High Mass. The *Troparium* contained the words and music of the proses, sequences, and other metrical pieces introduced for special feasts. The *Manuale* contained the offices for baptism, extreme unction, marriage, burial, various benedictions, and answered to the *Rituale*. The *Hymnale* contained the hymns sung at processions, and at vespers. The *Ordinale* regulated the ceremonies for different festivals throughout the year.

The *Venitare* contained the invitatories for the *Venite*, at the beginning of matins, which used to be sung publicly in parish churches on Sundays and great feasts. The *Legenda* contained the lections for matins, from Holy Scripture for the first nocturn, from the lives of the Saints for the second nocturn, and a homily from the Fathers on the gospel of the day for the third nocturn. The *Antiphonale* contained the antiphons for vespers; and the Psalter was the book of Psalms, divided as they were used at the seven canonical hours for the different days of the week. The *Capitularium* and *Collectare* contained the little chapters and collects of the hours. The Visitors found at St. Mary Church, "One psalter much worn and unfit for use, with a Manuale bound up with it, another psalter of no value, a good Antiphonale, with a Collectarium, a Capitularium, and Hymnarium bound up with it, a Legenda complete for the whole year in two volumes, with a Capitularium, a Collectarium and Hymnarium, and with the Antiphonarium inserted in its proper place according to the season, an Ordinale unfit for use, a copy of the Synodal Statute fairly good, a Missal, with the musical notes written in a good character, a Gradale with the Troparium, presented by the chapter, not altogether according to the use (of Exeter). And another Gradale, old and decayed. There was no Manuale besides the one in the

psalter mentioned above; the Troparium and the Processionale are both very good."

The Synod lays down that the cost of all these ornaments has hitherto been, and is still to be borne by the parishioners; but the books for matins, one psalter, the glass windows in the chancel, and the canopy over the high altar (*celatura*) are to be provided by the rector or vicar, in whose custody all are to be kept. If any accident happens, or thieves steal or destroy anything, on account of the chancel not being properly kept, the rector will bear the risk. If the nave of the church has been the cause of the damage, the loss falls on the parishioners.*

There was a little parochial dispute, which was referred to our Visitors. *A propos* of the chalice, they note, "The chalice belonging to the chapel of Collaton, which is now in ruins, the parishioners of that chapelry—of whom some were allotted to St. Mary Church, and some to [Kings] Kerswell—now keep, and refuse to give it up to the mother church. The parishioners of the said mother church claim it, together with the *instaurum* and timber (*meremium*) of the same chapel, for the keeping up of the said mother church. That is but just."

Meremium was a corruption of *materiamen*, a mediæval word for timber, and we learn from the Synod what to understand by *instaurum*. The Synod says, "We command, moreover, that with regard to the *instaurum* of churches, the churchwardens (*custodes*) shall every year faithfully render an account of the same before the rectors or vicars of the churches, or at least before the parochial chaplains, and five or six trustworthy parishioners, whom the rectors, vicars, or chaplains shall judge worthy to be chosen, and their accounts shall be committed to writing, and we command that this writing be presented to the archdeacon of the place when he makes his Visitation. And the fund itself shall never be applied to other uses than for the church; so that, if the parishioners be charged for the damage done to the church, or for their own shortcomings, they shall make it good out of their own substance, and the *instaurum* of the church shall remain intact. And because sometimes certain rents and *instaurum* are assigned to chantries, altars, or

* *Ibid.* Cap. XII.

lights, we command that these shall by no means be converted to other church uses, unless necessity, or at least equity persuade (the authorities), to order otherwise, supported by the consent of the archdeacon of the place, or at least of the rector."

The *instaurum* thus means a fund similar to that which is called in France *la fabrique*, for keeping in repair the church, the capital of which is not to be touched, and every care is to be taken in its administration. When a chapel, like that of Collaton, had fallen down, and there was no likelihood of its being rebuilt, it was a difficult matter to know what was to be done with the fund. The decision of our Visitors seems according to equity, as indeed they say.

There was a further matter of contention between the vicar of St. Mary Church and his parishioners. "The parishioners say that, until the time of the present vicar, they had been accustomed to keep up the chancel in all respects, and were exempt from the payment of tithes for the fund of the church. But this vicar, although he does not keep up the chancel, yet receives the tithes, and compels them to pay them."

Another complaint was, that "Agnes Bonatrix left five shillings (charged) on a field of barley, for the keeping up of the Church of St. Mary, and the vicar received this, and keeps it for his own use. Also, Master Roger de Rous left a certain sum of money for the same purpose, which the said vicar is reported to have received in part."

The Synod had decreed, "as to cemeteries of churches, both because they are holy places, and also because they are sanctified by the relics of saints buried there, we command that they be kept free from all uncleanness, and especially that they be not defiled by the filth of brute animals." The parishioners tell the Visitors that "the vicar puts his beasts of all kinds into the cemetery, and in consequence it is badly trampled about and abominably defiled." The Synod had enacted, "That if the rectors of churches, or parish priests, to whom the custody of the cemeteries is understood principally to belong, put their own or other people's animals to feed there, or allow them to be fed there, we decree that they be heavily punished by the ordinaries of the place."*

* *Synod. Exon. Cap. XIV.*

The same decree says, "And whereas we have understood that between the rectors of churches and their parishioners disputes often arise about the trees growing in the cemetery, each side maintaining that these belong to them, we deem it better to clear up the question of right by setting forth the written law, than to settle the matter by a special statute of our own. For, since the cemetery, especially when it has been consecrated, is the soil of the church, and whatever is planted on it goes with the soil; it follows necessarily that the same trees ought to be accounted among the goods of the church, of the disposal of which no power is given to laymen. But since those same trees are often planted on account of the violence of the wind, that it may not injure the churches, we forbid the rectors of churches from presuming to cut them down indiscriminately, unless when the chancel of the church requires necessary repair. And they are not to be applied to any other uses whatsoever, except when the nave of the church stands in need of repair, and the rectors, on account of the poverty of their parish, charitably choose to bestow on them some of these trees. We do not command this to be done, but when it has been done, we commend it."

I am afraid the vicar of St. Mary Church could not claim this commendation, for his parishioners complained that "the said vicar appropriates to himself the trees in the cemetery that are blown down by the wind, and uses them for his own buildings."

They also complain "that the said vicar causes his malt to be prepared in the church, and stores up his wheat and other things there. And hence his labourers, coming in and going out, open the door, and the wind, in stormy times, gets into the church, and often blows off portions of the roof." This was a more serious matter than the complaint about the trees, where the vicar seems to have been fairly within his rights. The Visitors report that "one window in the south side of the chancel is badly glazed, and without iron fittings; another with the iron worn thin, and without any glass; a third with iron fittings, but no glass. Moreover, the roof of the chancel is in a feeble state. The font has no lock; the nave of the church, and likewise the tower, want fresh roofing." This dilapidated church was rebuilt in the time of Richard II.

The Visitation went on to investigate the way in which the vicar fulfilled his spiritual duties. His parishioners say "that he preaches well, and exercises himself laudably in all things in his office when he is present. But he very often absents himself, and spends much time at Mortone (Moreton Hampstead), sometimes for fifteen days together, sometimes for eight, so that the villagers have no chaplain, except when Sir Walter, the archdeacon's chaplain, is there, or some one else is found to supply for the occasion."

The parish priest does not seem to have made any complaints against his parishioners, so that it may be assumed that the St. Mary Church people had no cases of flagrant crimes amongst them. The Synod says, "We have heard that parishioners frequently quarrel about the seats in the church, two or more laying claim to the same seat, and on this account grave scandal is caused in the church, and divine service is often interrupted. We lay down that no one from henceforth can claim a seat in the church as his own except noblemen and patrons of churches. Whoever first enters the church for the purpose of praying may choose, according to the judgment of his own will, his place for praying." There does not appear to have been any quarrel of this kind at St. Mary Church.

I suspect that the vicar, whose name does not appear, must have had a bad quarter of an hour the next time he saw the bishop, especially as Thomas de Bodeham, the late Archdeacon of Totnes, was a remarkably good and zealous man, and must have warned him to amend his ways. His successor, Roger de Rous, seems to have sent his chaplain sometimes to supply for the vicar during his frequent visits to Moreton Hampstead, where Robert de Combe was then rector. It may, however, be observed that, although the St. Mary Church people were sufficiently outspoken as to the shortcomings of their vicar, there is no suspicion of any charge against his morals. We may take it as proved that he was a man of blameless life, who acquitted himself of his duties to his flock fairly well, though he was too fond of staying away on the moors. He was not popular, on account of a certain close-fisted way he had about financial matters; but his chief fault seems to have been his want of care for his church and its furniture. Every time that he celebrated Mass he probably said, when he washed his

hands, "*Domine, dilexi decorem domus tue, et locum habitationis gloriæ tue*—Lord, I have loved the beauty of Thy house, and the place of the habitation of Thy glory."* How strange those words must have seemed, with his malt on the floor, and his corn littering in the tower, while the wind was blowing through the broken windows, and threatening to carry away the dilapidated roof!

Again, the absence of a pyx for the Blessed Eucharist reveals an habitual irreverence, in direct variance with the most earnest injunctions of the Synod, of which he had a copy in his church. That Synod enjoins, in its fourth chapter, "Let the parish priest always have, for the sake of the sick, consecrated hosts, which we strongly forbid to be kept more than seven days; but on the following Sunday, before the ablution of the Chalice, let them be consumed by the priest celebrating the Mass, or by another, so that it be done worthily and devoutly; and on that day let hosts, according to the number of the parishioners, more or less, be newly consecrated, so as to last through the week."

The Synod goes on: "When the Eucharist shall be carried to the sick, let the priest put on his surplice and stole, unless the distance of the place and the inclemency of the weather will not admit of it. Let the Lord's Body be laid up in a most clean burse, and that shut up under a lock in a pyx clean and decent of silver or of ivory, or other fitting material, and let the priest carry it on his breast, with a lantern going before him, because it is 'the brightness of the everlasting Light' that is carried. Let also a little bell go in front, that at its sound the faithful may be stirred up to adore the Body of our Lord, by humbly bowing themselves and, if possible, falling on their knees; and that their trouble in this may be held meritorious, we mercifully relax thirteen days of the penance enjoined them, to all those who do this with a pure and devout heart, that no one may think it burdensome to render such service to his Creator."† It is difficult to see how this injunction could be carried out if there was no pyx.

Besides the articles already mentioned, the Synod had pre-

* This *Lavabo* psalm is prescribed in the York Missal. The Hereford has the *Veni Creator*. The Sarum substitutes a Prayer.

† Cap. IV.

scribed for every church "a thurible, a vessel for incense, a vessel for Holy Water. . . . A canopy over the Altar. A bell to be carried to the sick, and for the elevation of the Body of Christ. A *Lucerna Boetta* (which appears from the Statutes of Ottery St. Mary to have been a lantern, to prevent the wind blowing out the light).^{*} Bells for the dead. A bier for the dead." None of these seem to have been in the sacristy of St. Mary Church. It may be urged that a little country village could hardly be expected to be provided with all these utensils. But what if they are found to be in the small chapelries dependent on St. Mary Church? Surely the mother church ought not to have been behind its daughter chapels.

A Visitation at Staverton, made the day before our Visitation, contains a very much fuller inventory than that which we have discussed, both as to books and altar furniture. There was a silk cope there, though not of great value. The parishioners say that "Sir Walter, the Vicar, conducts himself well and honourably, and instructs them exceedingly well in spiritual things. There is no defect in him, as they assert. They know nothing of any mortal sin concealed." The Visitors seem to have been informed of some false reports against him. But a Visitation which Bishop Stapeldon made of the same parish on the 1st of April, 1314, finds a number of deficiencies in the inventory. And the Bishop charges the rectors, that is, the dean and chapter, the vicar, whose name was Adam, and the parishioners, to make good all these deficiencies by Michaelmas, or they will have to pay a fine of £20 towards the building of Exeter Cathedral.

The Visitors proceed to the visitation of "Carswille," or Kingskerswell, and report :

In the said Chapel there is a fairly good Missal, and likewise a Gradale with a Troparium. A tolerably good chalice. Two sets of vestments all complete, and two sets of corporals, with good burses of silk. Six [altar] cloths. Two surplices and one rochet. A Pyx for the Eucharist of wood, without a lock. A pewter vessel for visiting the sick. A processional Cross, old and unfit for use, though its staff is decent. Five cruets. One Psalter, defective. An Antiphonale in poor condition. No Ordinale. No Legenda. The font without a lock. A fairly good thurible, and a lantern. A good banner. The Chapel has the wall in the nave broken,

^{*} See Oliver, *Monasticon*, pp. 271, 273 ; also Du Cange, *Lucerna Boetta*.

but it is being repaired. The chancel roof is in bad condition. There are two bells for the dead, and one for the Elevation of the Body of Christ. The chancel windows are without glass, and in a disgraceful state.

Of Coffinswell they report :

In this Chapel is a good Missal, with the musical notes. A Gradale, old and decayed. A good Troparium. A good Ordinale. A Legenda with the Psalter fairly good. A monastic Antiphonale, old and badly bound.* A Manuale with a Hymnale likewise badly bound. A fairly good chalice, gilt inside. Two complete sets of vestments, and besides these two albs distinct. Nine [altar] cloths. A fairly good thurible. A wooden chrismatory. A pyx for the Eucharist of wood, without a lock. Two surplices and one rochet. A lenten veil. A Processional Cross. Two cruet. The canopy over the altar much dilapidated. All the chancel windows are without glass, and they are too small. Two bells for the dead. The nave of the Church is dilapidated in the roof.

On the whole these two chapels, though poorly furnished and out of repair, are better found in some respects than the mother church. On August 10th, 1313, Bishop Stapeldon issued a commission to two of the Canons of Exeter to institute Robert de Maloylsel to the vicarage of St. Mary Church, when we may suppose the vicar under the Visitation we have been following went to give in his last account.

The Visitors held a Court of the Manor, of which they give the returns. Their report is :

The tenants of the Church (*Sanctuarii*) say on their oath that the assessed rents are £6 18s. 4d. with the rents of Carswille (Kingskerswell) and Huwelburghe (? Wolborough).† Of the assessed aid (*auxilium*) first imposed by Walter Fitz-Peter,‡ and hitherto paid, one mark, on which they petition for relief. Also as to the poll-tax (*chevagium*) 12d. And the said tenants on their oath estimate the Church demesne, with the garden and meadow, as worth a hundred shillings. And the tithes of the sheaves of corn of the whole parish, together with its chapels, they value at £46 13s. 4d. The dues (*perquisita*) of the Chapter, 20s. ; of the Hundred, one mark. Also, they reckon as a set off (*defectum*) repairs to be made in the kitchen, 46s. 8d. ; in the cow-house, 20s. ; in enlarging

* *Antiphonale Moniale*, an example of the discarded liturgical books of a monastery being given or sold to poor parishes.

† Wolborough is called in the *Exeter Domesday* "Olueberie," in the Exchequer version "Vlveberie," or "Ulueberie." See *Devonshire Domesday*, pp. 548, 549.

‡ Walter Fitz-Peter is mentioned in a deed of 1267 as Treasurer of the Chapter. See Oliver, *Bishops of Exeter*, p. 283.

the grange of Coffinswille, two marks; in rebuilding the grange at Carswille, ten marks."

The term "assessed rent" *redditus assisus*, probably refers to the fact that since the twentieth year of Edward I., 1292, the houses and lands of the clergy were taxed at the same rate as those of laymen.* The *auxilium assisum* was an addition to the ordinary rent, imposed for some special purpose, *ex. gr.* the ransom of a king; but, according to Bracton,† it had a legal limit, and could not exceed twenty shillings for one knight's fee. The tithes of the parish would amount to about £900 of our money. The *pèrquisita capituli*, which I have translated "dues of the chapter," would seem to be a kind of offering, partly voluntary, but so customary as to be regularly asked for. Du Cange mentions a charter of Stephen, Archbishop of Paris in 1124, which says "the annual dues (*quaesita*) which the canons have been accustomed to exact and hold from the priests of the said churches, they shall no longer exact from them nor hold." On the whole, after paying the £11 6s. 8d., the amount of the repairs, the sum due to the chapter from St. Mary Church and its chapelries was £35 6s. 8d. This is more than forty-seven times the fifteen shillings at which the manor was valued in *Domesday*.

It does not appear what the income of the vicar of St. Mary Church was at this period. The Synod of Exeter enacted that vicars, assistant priests (or curates, as they are commonly now called) should not receive less than fifteen shillings a year. That vicarages should have certain fixed portions of the tithes assigned to the priest, and in no case less than sixty shillings a year, and more in proportion to the size of the parish. If the rectors of these parishes think this is too great a burthen to put upon them, the Synod slyly observes that they can always be relieved by doing the work themselves, and so dispensing with their vicars.

We may now take leave of St. Mary Church and its vicar, hoping that Prebendary Randolph's researches in the *Registers* of Bishop Grandisson will give us some further details of the history of this ancient parish.

* Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 162.

† *Lib. ii. cap. 16, sec. 8.*

From Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph's *Registers of Bishop Stapeldon*, page 337 :

[St. Mary Church ("Seynt Marie Church, cum suis Capellis." MS.)

Visitation, die Martis proxima sequente (post Festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli—4 July, 1301), per Magistros Robertum de Veteri Terra et Johannem de Uphavene, Seneschallos Capituli :

In presenti Visitacione fuerunt in Ecclesia Matrici loci predicti—Unum Psalterim debile et insufficiens, cum Manuali in eodem. Legenda totius anni plenaria, in duobus voluminibus, cum Capitulario, Collectario, et Ymnario, et cum Antiphonario suo loco interposito de Temporalibus. Ordinale insufficiens. Statutum Synodale sufficiens. Missale, notatum, et bone litere. Gradale cum Tropario, collatum a Capitulo, non de Usu ex toto. Et aliud Gradale, vetus et putrefactum. Nullum Manuale preterquam in Psalterio supradicto. Tria paria Vestimentorum, quorum una Casula sufficiens et alie non sufficientes. Unum superpellicium tantum, vetus et perforatum. Rochetum minus sufficiens. V tuelle benedictę, quarum una cum parura; et sexta non benedicta. Nulla Pixis ad Eucharistiam: Pixis, tamen, ad oblatas. Crismatorium ligneum, seratum. Nullus ciphus ad infirmos visitandos. Crux Processionalis satis conveniens. ij Candelabra Processionalia de stanno. V paria Corporalium cum quatuor repositoriis debilibus. Paxillum decens. Calix sufficiens interioris deauratus—Et memorandum de Calice Capelle de Coleton prostrate cujus quondam Parochiani—nunc, vero, partim apud Seynet Mariechurche et partim apud Carswylle assignati—detinent, et Matrici Ecclesie, reddere contradicunt; quem petunt Parochiani predictę Matricis Ecclesie, una cum instaurato et meremio ejusdem Capelle, ad sustentacionem dictę Matricis Ecclesie converti. Id est justum.—Quatuor fiole sufficientes. Frontale ad Majus Altare de serico, tolerandum. Una fenestra in Australi parte Cancelli est male vitreata et sine ferro: secunda, cum debili ferro et sine vitro: tertia cum ferro set sine vitro. Pręterea tectum Cancelli valde debile. Fons sine serura. Navis Ecclesie et similiter Campanile coopertura indigent. Troparium et Processionale simul valde bonum.

Parochiani dicunt quod consueverunt, usque ad tempora presentis Vicarii, sustinere Cancellum in omnibus, et esse immunes a prestacione decime instauri Ecclesie; set iste, licet non sustentet Cancellum, tamen precipit decimam, et compellit eos ut solvant. Item, dicunt quod Agnes Bonatrix legavit vs. ballardorum, ad sustentacionem Ecclesie de Seintemarie, quos Vicarius recepit et detinet. Item, Magister Rogerus le Rous legavit quandam summam pecunie ad idem, quam idem Vicarius dicitur recepisse pro parte. Item, dicunt quod idem Vicarius ponit omnimodas bestias suas in cimiterio, per quod male conculcatur et viliter fedatur. Item, dictus Vicarius arbores cimiterii vento prostratas sibi appropriat, et ad edificationes suas convertit. Item, idem Vicarius facit parare brasium suum in Ecclesia, et bladum suum, et alia ibidem reponit, per quod servientes sui, intrantes et exeuntes, aperiunt ostium, et ventus in tempestatibus intrans Ecclesiam discooperire solet. Dicunt, eciam, quod

bene predicat, et officium suum in omnibus laudabiliter exercet, dum presens est. Set sepius se absentat, et moram facit apud Mortone [Moreton Hampstead], aliquando per quindecim dies, aliquando per octo, ita quod non habent Capellanum, nisi quando Dominus Walterus, Capellanus Archidiaconi, præsens est, vel aliunde precario perquiratur.

Item, tenentes Sanctuarii, jurati, dicunt de redditu assiso quod sunt *vjli. xvijs. iiij^d.*, cum redditu de Carswille et Huwelburghe De auxilio assiso, per Waltherum Filium Petri primitus imposito, et actenus soluto, *j* marca; super quo petunt remedium. Item, de chevagio *xii^d.* Et estimant, dicti jurati dominicum cum gardino et prato, valere *Cs.*; et decimam garbarum tocius Parochie cum Capellis, *xlvj^{li}. xiijs. iiij^d.*; perquisita Capituli, *xx^s.*; Hundredi, *j* marcam. Item, defectum in coquina corrigenda estimant *xlvj^s. viij^d.*; in boveria *xx^s.*; in grangia de Coffynswille elonganda *ij* marcis, et in grangia de Carswille reedificanda *x* marcis.

Capella de Carswille.

In dicta Capella est Missale sufficiens. Et similiter, Gradale, cum Tropario. Calix tollerabilis. *ij* paria Vestimentorum plenaria et *ij* paria Corporalium cum *ij* repositoriis de serico honestis. *vj* tualle. Duo superpellicia et unum rochetum. Pixis ad Eucharistiam lignea, sine serura. Ciphus stanneus ad infirmos visitandos. Crux Processionalis, vetus et insufficiens; tamen ejus hasta decens. Fiole *v*. Unum Psalterium defectivum. Antiphonarium debile. Ordinale nullum. Legenda nulla. Baptisterium sine sera. Turribulum sufficiens, et boeta. Vexillum bonum. Capella fracta in Navi; set est in reficiendo. Cancellum male coopertum. Due campanelle ad mortuos, et una ad Elevationem Corporis Christi. Fenestre Cancelli sine vitro et inhoneste.

Coffynswille.

In qua Capella est bonum Missale notatum. Gradale vetus et putrefactum. Bonum Troparium. Bonum Ordinale. Legenda cum Psalterio sufficiens, set male ligatum. Antiphonarium Moniale, vetus et male legatum. Manuale, cum Ympmario, similiter male ligatum. Calix sufficiens, interius deauratus. Duo paria Vestimentorum plenaria, et preter hoc, *ij* Albe per se. Tualle *ix*. Turribulum sufficiens. Crismatorium ligneum. Pixis ad Eucharistiam lignea, sine sera. Duo superpellicia et unum rochetum. Velum Quadregesimale. Crux Processionalis. Due fiole. Celatura ultra Altare totaliter fracta. Omnes Cancelli fenestre sine vitro et nimis parve. Due campane ad mortuos. Navis Ecclesie debiliter cooperta.

(Archives of the D. and C., No. 3673, p. 27)].

ART. VI.—ALEXANDER POPE.

The Works of Alexander Pope. New Edition, including several Hundred Unpublished Letters and other new materials, collected in part by the late Right Hon. JOHN WILSON CROKER. With Introductions and Notes by the Rev. WHITWELL ELWIN and WILLIAM JOHN COURTHOPE.* In ten volumes. London: John Murray.

IF we should form our judgment merely by the Statute Book, we should be led to regard the Revolution of 1688 as peculiarly disastrous to Catholics in this country. The legislation of Elizabeth, of James I. and Charles II., had built up a pretty complete penal code whereby the exercise of the Catholic religion was interdicted, its clergy were branded as traitors and punished accordingly, and its professors were visited with forfeitures and disabilities of every kind. The Revolution of 1688, naturally enough, was accompanied by a certain amount of popular feeling against Catholics, who undeservedly shared in the odium excited by the bad faith, cruelty, and tyranny of James II. And the Statute Book reflects that feeling in various enactments, the object of which is described to be "for a further remedy against the growth of Popery, over and beyond the good laws already made." No doubt "the further growth of Popery" was checked by this legislation. A statistical account taken by Royal Commission in the latter part of William III.'s reign, gives the number of the professors of the old religion left in England as 27,693.† Still it is certain that from the time that William was firmly established on the throne, the Government steadily discountenanced the persecution of Catholics. No doubt, now and then, the hungry zeal of informers, or the dull bigotry of magistrates, set one or another of the penal laws in motion against them. No doubt political considerations occasionally led to the exhibition of severity towards "Papists," as in the anti-Catholic legislation of the first year of George I., and in the anti-Catholic procla-

* In the notes to the following article, this edition is referred to as Works

† Oliver's "Collections," p. 23.

mations issued on several occasions during his reign and during the reign of his successor. Still, it would appear that, from the Revolution in 1688 to the passing of the first Relief Act in 1778, Catholics in this country were, on the whole, in a much more favourable position than that which unpopular religious minorities occupied in most European lands. The testimony of the Rev. Joseph Berrington on this point is express. "When the popular fury had subsided, on the extinction of the rebellion" of 1745, he writes, "the Catholics gradually returned to their state of tranquillity, and thus they lived peaceable and unoffending subjects, complying with the respective duties of civil life and worshipping God in the very retired and secret manner that the lenity of the Government allowed."*

This practical toleration was due to several causes. In the first place, William III. personally approved of the full religious liberty existing in Holland, one curious result of which was that some four thousand Catholics were among the troops whom he brought over with him from that country to the rescue of endangered Protestantism in this. Moreover, his weighty political obligations to the Emperor, and even to the Pope, disposed him to the adoption of the mildest policy that circumstances allowed towards those who shared their faith. Anne was no doubt a bigoted Anglican. But still, as Berrington tells us, Catholics were "by no means disagreeable to her. She recollected the loyalty they had always shown to her family, nor did their present attachment to her unfortunate brother give her displeasure. Her throne was too firmly fixed to be shaken by a reed."† The first two Hanoverian sovereigns were latitudinarian in religion. George I. had learnt in Germany, according to Berrington, "a lesson of religious moderation," and "the word Popery conveyed to him no ideas of horror."‡ Then, again, the Catholics in this country were too few and too insignificant to be a real object of solicitude to the Government. Moreover, the interest of the public at large in theological controversy had much declined. "Enthusiasm in politics had taken the place of enthusiasm in religion."§

* Quoted in Butler's "Historical Memoirs of English Catholics," vol. p. 62.

† *Ibid.* p. 57.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 58.

§ *Ibid.* p. 57.

In connection with the subject of the social and political state of Catholics after the Revolution of 1688, the life and career of Alexander Pope are of peculiar interest. Born six months before James II. fled from Whitehall, and dying in 1744, the year before the Young Pretender made the last desperate effort to re-establish the Stuart line on the British throne, Pope lived at a time when the legal situation of Catholics was most depressed. As a matter of fact, he appears to have been quite unmolested on the score of his religion, and, so far as we can judge from his correspondence, it was the same with his Catholic friends. In 1714, just after the death of Queen Anne, he writes: "I was in danger of losing my horse, and stood in some fear of a country justice."* But he did not lose his horse, nor did any country justice molest him. Even in the next year, the rebellion in the North of England, in favour of the Old Pretender, does not seem to have resulted in any inconvenience to him. Nor, although from the beginning of his literary life to the close, he numbered among his friends persons of great public influence, does he appear to have been indebted to their interposition for his immunity from persecution.† But further, it can hardly be doubted that to Pope must be attributed, in some degree, the ebbing of anti-Catholic prejudice which eventually led, first to the softening and then to the abolition of the Penal Laws. As his reputation increased and gradually became European, and he attained a position in the world of letters hardly inferior to that which Voltaire held a generation later, his countrymen grew justly proud of him, and became more tolerant of the creed to which he adhered. More than this, we may take him to have been directly, although unconsciously, instrumental in bringing about that stricter judicial construction of the Penal Laws which so largely robbed them of their terrors. Conspicuous among his friends was Murray who, as Lord Mansfield, laid down that in order to the conviction of a priest for saying Mass, sufficient evidence must be given of his sacerdotal character, and of the sacrificial nature of the rite in respect of which he was

* "Works," vi. 360.

† M. Montégut justly remarks, "Les noms aristocratiques que vous rencontrez dans ses œuvres sont ceux d'amis et presque de confrères, nullement ceux de protecteurs, de patrons et de maîtres" (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 1888, p. 280).

[No. 9 of Fourth Series.]

accused, a ruling which placed almost insuperable difficulties in the way of the whole tribe of informers.* There can be little doubt that his intercourse with the poet had led that great magistrate to form the sound and liberal views which thus found practical expression.†

But it may be said that Pope was merely a nominal Catholic.

* See Holliday's "Life of William, Earl Mansfield," p. 176. Lord Mansfield told the jury: "The material articles of this trial may be reduced to two heads: First, whether or not the defendant [James Webb] is a priest? and secondly, whether or not he has said Mass? For I look upon the Mass as the only material charge in this trial; for that is properly the only act they allege which is peculiar to the Popish clergy. . . . There are no proofs of his ordination, which must be before he can be proved to be a priest; therefore, if it should be proved that he has said Mass, this will not convict him of being a priest, as appears evidently from the example his counsel has brought of a person who had no ordination at all, and yet said Mass; but as that person was not a priest, and could not be condemned by those statutes, so neither can the defendant before there are sufficient proofs of his ordination." The trial took place on the 25th of June, 1768, at Westminster, at the suit of one Payne, a common informer.

† The following extract from Butler's "Historical Memoirs" may here be fitly inserted:—

"The first approximation of Catholics to the notice of their Sovereign took place in consequence of some attentions which Edward, Duke of Norfolk (to whom the present duke is third in succession), and Mary, the wife of duke Edward, had an opportunity of showing to Frederick, Prince of Wales, during the variance between his royal highness and George II., his father. The present king was born at Norfolk House. It is known that, at this time, George II. and the prince were at variance. The duke and duchess conducted themselves, on this occasion, in a manner highly pleasing both to the parent and the son, and to the consorts of each. It was signified to them that their frequent attendance at court was expected, and Queen Caroline often invited the duchess to her private parties. The duchess was gifted with great talents, was easy, dignified, and, when she pleased, singularly insinuating. Her Grace, Lady Clifford, and the lady of Mr. Philip Howard, were daughters and co-heiresses of Mr. Edward Blount, the early patron and correspondent of Pope. Through Pope, she became acquainted with Mr. Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield—in his early life—while he yet lived at No. 5 in King's Bench Walks, where he is described so well by the bard:

To number Five direct your doves:
There, spread round Murray all your blooming loves;
Noble and young, who strikes the heart
With every sprightly, every decent part;
Equal the injured to defend,
To charm the mistress, or to fix the friend.

She loved business. Her talents for it, and her high rank, made her the refuge of the Catholics in all their vexations; and she availed herself of her intimacy with Lord Mansfield to render them every service in her power. Her house was the centre of whatever was great and elegant in either communion; and by familiarising them with one another, their prejudices were softened and their mutual goodwill increased.

"Lord Mansfield had the great merit of being the first public character who openly advocated the Catholic cause, and expressed a decided opinion in favour of a relaxation of the penal code. On every occasion he discountenanced the prosecutions of Catholic priests, and took care that the accused should have every advantage that the forms of proceeding, or the letter or spirit of the law, could afford." Vol. i. p. 69.

Indeed this has been said, in every variety of key, from his day to ours, and has been asserted, in a peculiarly nasal tone, by one of his latest critics, Mr. Elwin.* Upon which I remark, in the first place, that the law and its administrators would draw no distinction between a real and a nominal Catholic, but would certainly qualify as a Popish recusant any one who chose to adhere to the old faith, and declined conformity to the new, without making a special inquisition into his private opinions. But let us go on to see what the truth really is about Pope's religion. Now it is perfectly clear that throughout his life Pope openly and unswervingly professed the Catholic faith, and that any one who knew anything about him knew this. His "Papistry" was a reproach most commonly urged against him by the dunces whom he scourged, and one of them, Oldmixon, expressly satirised him as "The Catholic poet." The three Anglican clergymen with whom he was on terms of most intimate friendship—Swift, Atterbury, and Warburton—vainly essayed, at different times in his life, to win him over to the Established Church. And when, during his visit to Oxford in 1714, Dr. Clarke, of All Souls, endeavoured to draw him into a discussion of the matters in controversy between the two communions, Pope significantly replied: "It is but a little while that I can enjoy your improving company here in Oxford, which we will not so misspend as it would be doing should we let it pass in talking divinity. Neither would there be time for either of us half to explain ourselves, and at last you would be Protestant Clarke and I Papist Pope."† In 1713 he writes to his friend Caryll: "In very truth, sir, I believe they will all find me, at long run, a mere Papist."‡ In 1729 he assures the same correspondent: "You will never see me change my condition any more than my religion."§ And in September, 1742, he emphatically protests to Racine his loyalty to his faith in language which he meant to be made public, declaring that his views were "conformable to those of Pascal and Fénelon, the latter of whom,"

* Croker calls him "a political Papist" ("Works," vi. 147), a phrase which I confess seems to me "exceeding good senseless." It is absolutely clear that from the political aspect of Catholicism Pope, from first to last, steadily turned away. As Mr. Courthope justly observes, "his taste was repugnant to politics" ("Works," v. 80).

† "Works," vi. 360, note.

‡ *Ibid.*, 197.

§ *Ibid.* 316.

he adds, "I would readily imitate in submitting my opinions to the decision of the Church."* Such was his language throughout his life. And may we not believe that this good confession in some sort merited for him his edifying death, with the last sacraments about him, "in an open and free acknowledgment of the faith from which he had never swerved"?†

It must then be set down to Pope's credit that, in spite of powerful inducements to abandon his religion—inducements to which many influential Catholics of his generation succumbed—he remained constant in its profession. As the very accomplished critic whom I have just quoted puts it, "he permitted no argument of self-interest to weigh against the dictates of an unaffected piety."‡ It cannot, however, be denied that his hold upon the doctrines of his faith was slight. Throughout his writings expressions constantly occur which show how greatly he misapprehended important articles of it. And competent critics are agreed that all Warburton's impudence and ingenuity have failed to vindicate the orthodoxy of the "Essay on Man," his most ambitious attempt in religious philosophy. Mr. Courthope calls the work "a poem in which the Theism of Leibnitz is combined with the Pantheism of Spinoza, and in which the principle of the Ruling Passion leads directly to the conclusions of blind fatalism."§ And M. Taine's account of its author is: "C'est un Catholique déteint, déiste à peu près, qui ne sait pas bien ce qu'est le déisme."|| The truth is, that Pope was an extremely ill-instructed Catholic. When quite a boy—in his fourteenth year it was, he tells us—he read many works on the controversy between the Catholic and Anglican Churches, the effect being utterly to unsettle him. "I found myself a Papist and a Protestant by turn," he told Atterbury, "according to

* "Works," ii. 291.

† Ward's "Pope," Introductory Memoir, lxiv.

‡ *Ibid.* xlv. I may be permitted to say that, in my judgment, nothing better has ever been written about Pope than this "Introductory Memoir" of Mr. Ward's. Its distinguished author has compressed into its fifty-one pages an admirably perspicuous narrative of the facts of Pope's life, and a singularly judicious criticism of his works.

§ "Works," v. 251.

|| *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*, Book III. c. 7.

the last book I read."* It must be remembered, too, that the age into which Pope was born was eminently undogmatic. And he lived chiefly with those who felt most deeply and represented most accurately the dominant tone of thought, and was no doubt largely infected by their spurious Liberalism. Mr. Courthope has summed up the matter very happily and very fairly: "The exact form of his own religious belief is doubtful, but there is every reason to suppose that his religious *instinct* was deep and sincere. His opinions may have been influenced by isolated speculations in Shaftesbury, Mandeville, and the Deists, but he always manifested abhorrence of their principles, as enemies of the established faith. . . . In his poetry he deals only with the *effects* of religion, which he holds to be virtue, or with the want of it, which he pronounces to be vice."† Erasmus—"good Erasmus in an honest mean"—was for him the typical Catholic. I much doubt, however, whether his acquaintance with the writings of Erasmus was very intimate. Certainly Erasmus, however we are to account of him, would never have subscribed to Pope's dictum:

For modes of faith let varying zealots fight,
He can't be wrong whose life is in the right.

As certain is it, unhappily, that even if judged by this loose canon, Pope must be pronounced grievously wanting. His practice was no more satisfactory than his belief. He was as deficient in the theological virtues as in theological instruction. Of that long catalogue of the works of the flesh which St. Paul gives in his Epistle to the Galatians, only too many are chargeable against him: immodesty, idolatry, contentions, emulations, dissension. It must be owned too that recent investigations have not redounded to his credit. More than forty years ago one of the most competent of his critics, Professor Connington, observed: "There is probably no English author whose life can be compared with Pope as a succession of petty secrets and third-rate problems." And he justly adds:

* "Works," ix. 11.

† "Works," v. 358-59. Pope's own account is: "I sincerely worship God, believe in His revelations, resign to His dispensations, love all His creatures, am in charity with all denominations of Christians, however violently they treat each other, and detest none so much as that profligate race, who would loosen the bands of morality, either under the pretence of religion or free-thinking" ("Works," x. 223).

"A man whose actions were generally blameless would not have left so many things for his apologists to explain; a man whose character was truthful and simple would not have been the hero of so many enigmatical narratives."* Many of the secrets which Connington had in view have since been revealed and many of the problems solved, and in pretty nearly every case the revelation and solution have been unfavourable to Pope. We know now that he was not justified in his breach with Addison; that his account of his share in the translation of the "Odyssey" was utterly unvarnished; that the history of the publication of his letters is a labyrinthine series of unworthy stratagems; and that in preparing them for the press he subjected them to a manipulation far exceeding any fair process of editing. "He can't be wrong whose life is in the right!" Alas, in too many particulars, Pope's life was deplorably in the wrong.

Such is the truth about Pope. Still, more than one plea may be urged, and ought to be urged, in extenuation of his besetting sins. His morbid sensitiveness, so unhappily manifested by many passages in his writings, was largely attributable, not only to the overstrung nerves which characterise the *genus irritabile Vatum* but to his chronic ill-health—"this long disease, my life," he says in one place, with equal pathos and truth. Mr. Ward observes: "Upon Pope's sensitive nature, every spoken or written word, and every event in which he was interested, operated with thrilling effect. Martha Blount often saw him weep in reading very tender and melancholy passages; he told Sterne that he could never peruse Priam's lament for Hector without tears. . . . On the other hand, he had, like a child, no judgment of the relative importance of injuries, and with the passionate petulance of childhood he combined the resentfulness of a mind unable to forgive until it forgets."† Again, there can be no doubt that his love of "by-paths and indirect crook'd ways"—"he can hardly drink tea without a

* Oxford Essays, 1858, p. 2.

† Ward's "Pope": Introductory Memoir, p. xlv. It may be worth while to point out a slight error into which this generally so accurate writer has fallen, a few lines above the passage cited in the text. He says: "The general fragility of Pope's constitution made his life, in Dr. Johnson's phrase, a long disease." The phrase is not Dr. Johnson's, but Pope's own, and occurs in line 132 of the "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot."

stratagem," it was said of him—was innate; that there was a vein of dissimulation and artifice in his natural character. Nor was his desultory education—largely self-acquired—of a kind to correct these blemishes. Mr. Courthope suggests, by way of apology for him, that he was "brought up under the religious guidance of those who, themselves proscribed and persecuted, regarded, with perhaps not unnatural indulgence, the use of equivocation as an instrument of self-defence."* It appears to me that his "use of equivocation" was rather due to his want of religious guidance, of which he certainly had very little either in his boyhood or in his mature life. "If you have seen a late advertisement," he writes to Teresa Blount, presumably in 1716, "you will know that I have not told a lie, which we both abominate, but equivocated pretty genteelly: you may be confident it was not done without leave from my spiritual director."† We may be sure that the only spiritual director whom Pope consulted in this matter was Pope himself. Casuistry is a noble science, an indispensable "dialectic of conscience," in Kant's phrase. Pope apparently valued himself on his skill in it.‡ But in this province his own caution emphatically applies: "A little learning is a dangerous thing," and Pope was certainly no expert in moral theology. To which we may add that a man who has himself for his confessor is likely to have a fool for his penitent; that a man who is his own guide in cases of conscience, runs a grave risk of misguidance. And the reason is admirably indicated in a passage of one of Sterne's best sermons:

How hard we find it to have an equitable and sound judgment in a matter where our interest is deeply concerned; and even where there is the remotest consideration of SELF connected with the point before us, what a strange bias does it hang upon our minds, and how difficult is it to disengage our judgments entirely from it! With what reluctance are we brought to think evil of a friend whom we have long loved and esteemed! and though there happen to be strong appearances against him, how apt are we to overlook or put favourable constructions upon them, and even sometimes, when our zeal and friendship transport us, to assign the best and kindest motives for the worst and most unjustifiable

* "Works," v. 9.

† *Ibid.* ix. 26.

‡ So the initial lines of the "Epistle to Lord Bathurst":

Who shall decide when doctors disagree,
And soundest casuists doubt, like you and me?

parts of his conduct! We are still worse casuists, and the deceit is proportionately stronger with a man when he is going to judge of himself—the dearest of all parties—so closely connected with him—so much and so long beloved—of whom he has so early conceived the highest opinion and esteem, and with whose merit he has all along, no doubt, found so much reason to be contented. It is not an easy matter to be severe when there is such an impulse to be kind, or to efface at once all the tender impressions in favour of so old a friend, which disable us from thinking of him as he is.*

We should, however, greatly err if we supposed spleen or unverity to be the foundation of Pope's character. I do not think any one can carefully and impartially study the documents available regarding him without feeling that, in spite of all justly chargeable to his discredit, he was, upon the whole, worthy of admiration and regard, of reverence and affection. Such is the view of him which seems clearly deducible from his own writings and from the writings of those who knew him best. He was, we are told, "a child of a particularly sweet disposition, which exhibited itself in the musical tones of his voice, so that his friends called him the little nightingale."† And the friends of his youth he retained throughout his life, adding to them the greatest and the noblest of his time. How Swift valued him appears over and over again in their correspondence. "You are the best and kindest friend in the world," he writes in one letter. "I know nobody alive to whom I am so much obliged, and if ever you made me angry it was by your too much care about me."‡ In another: "I am daily expecting the end of my life. . . . While I have any ability to hold a converse with you, I will never be silent. . . . I love no man so well. May God always protect you, and preserve you long for a pattern of piety and virtue. Farewell, my dearest, and almost only constant friend."§ In a third: "I am, my dearest friend, yours entirely as long as I can write, or speak, or think."|| This was his language to the end. "In one of his latest letters to me," writes Lord Orrery, "before he was lost to all human comfort, he says, when you see my dearest friend, Pope, tell him I will answer his letter soon: I love him above all the rest of mankind."¶ Arbuthnot

* "Sermon on Self-Knowledge."

† "Works," v. 7.

§ *Ibid.* 362.

|| *Ibid.* 359.

‡ *Ibid.* vii. 100.

¶ *Ibid.*

is equally emphatic. "I think," he writes in his last letter to Pope, "since our first acquaintance there has not been any of those little suspicions or jealousies that often affect the sincerest friendships. . . . Living or dying, I shall always be your most faithful friend." * Gay's language is similar: "I love you as my own soul. . . . There is none like you, living or dead." † When I was telling Lord Bolingbroke, Spence relates, "that Mr. Pope [during his last illness], on every catching and recovering of his mind, was always saying something kindly of his present or absent friends, and that this was so surprising that it seemed to me as if his humanity had outlasted his understanding, Lord Bolingbroke said, 'It was so,' and then added, 'I never in my life knew a man who had so tender a heart for his particular friends, or a more general friendship for mankind. I have known him these thirty years, and value myself on that man's love more than——'" [sinking his head, and losing his voice in tears]. ‡

It is impossible that the man who kindled this warmth of attachment in such men should not have been worthy of it. Thackeray has well observed that in our estimate of his character we must always take into account "that constant tenderness and fidelity of affection [towards his mother] which pervaded and sanctified his life." On June 2, 1730, he writes to Swift of her: "Yesterday was her birthday, now entering on the ninety-first year of her age, her memory much diminished, but her senses very little hurt; her sight and hearing good. She sleeps not ill, eats moderately, drinks water, says her prayers. This is all she does. I have reason to thank God for continuing so long to me a very good and tender parent, and for allowing me to exercise for some years those cares which are now as much necessary to her as they once were to me. An object of this sort daily before one's eyes very much softens the mind." § And the same tenderness and fidelity of affection were manifested in different degrees to all his friends. Johnson speaks quite truly of "the perpetual and unclouded effulgence of general benevolence and particular fondness which prevails

* "Works," vii. 478.

‡ Spence's "Anecdotes," p. 321.

† *Ibid.* 435-436.

§ "Works," vii. 98.

throughout his letters." Among the most touching of them is one addressed to Martha Blount, in which, speaking of his anticipated death, he says: "I cannot think without tears, of being separated from my friends, when their condition is so doubtful that they may want such assistance as mine."* But we should greatly err if we suppose benevolence the only virtue with which Pope was endowed. There can be no doubt that a passionate love of truth and justice was the feeling which dominated his soul: that he fully believed and meant what he wrote of himself in the "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot":

Not Fortune's worshipper, not Fashion's fool,
Not Lucre's madman, not Ambition's tool,
Not proud, nor servile; be one poet's praise,
That if he pleased, he pleased by manly ways;
That flattery, ev'n to kings, he held a shame,
And thought a lie in prose or verse the same;
That not in Fancy's maze he wandered long,
But stooped to Truth, and moralised his song;
That not for Fame, but Virtue's better end,
He stood the furious foe, the timid friend,
The damning critic, half-approving wit,
The coxcomb hit, or fearing to be hit;
Laughed at the loss of friends he never had,
The dull, the proud, the wicked, and the mad;
The distant threats of vengeance on his head,
The blow unfelt, the tear he never shed;
The tale revived, the lie so oft o'erthrown,
The imputed trash, and dulness not his own;
The morals blackened, when the writings 'scape,
The libelled person, and the pictured shape;
Abuse on all he loved, or loved him, spread,
A friend in exile, or a father dead;
The whisper that, to Greatness still too near,
Perhaps yet vibrates in his Sov'reign's ear—
Welcome for thee, fair Virtue! all the past:
For thee, fair Virtue! welcome e'en the last.

To say that he fell short of the high standard which he set up is merely to say that he was human.† *Video meliora pro-*

* "Works," ix. 307.

† "I beg pardon," he writes to Martha Blount, in 1720, "for this very fault of which I taxed others, my vanity, which made me so resenting" ("Works," ix. 294).

loque, deteriora sequor" is the true account of us all. But Pope, with his keen poetic vision, discerned the things that are more excellent with a clearness given to few. And in the bitterness of his hostility towards those on whom he made war, he was doubtless largely animated by the feeling of the psalmist: "Do I not hate them that hate Thee?" Thus unquestionably did it seem to those who knew him best, and who were best fitted to judge of him. So Arbuthnot, in that last letter to him from which I quoted just now—a letter written in the consciousness of approaching death—says: "I make it my last request that you will continue that noble disdain and abhorrence of vice which you seem naturally endued with."* It would be easy to multiply testimony to the same effect. But these words of one of the noblest and best men of the age, well characterised by Johnson as "a wit who in the crowd of life retained and discovered a noble ardour of religious zeal," must here suffice.

After all, however, we are concerned rather with the public work than with the private life of the poet—with the message rather than with the messenger. His undeniable littlenesses, so strongly brought out by the fierce light which beats upon his intellectual throne, must not blind us to his real greatness. It appears to me that in spite of the occasional stains which disfigure his pages—stains attributable rather to the age than to the man—we must regard him as one of the most effective powers for good in English literature. In that great conflict which is waged through the ages between God and the enemies of God, Pope fought strenuously, however ignorantly, on the right side. It is true that his hold upon Christian doctrines was feeble and ill-assured, but it is also true, as one of the most recent and assuredly not one of the least able of his critics has pointed out, that the influence of Catholic teaching may be clearly traced in many of his poems.† And it is quite certain that his sympathies were with the defenders of Christianity,‡ which, however imperfect his apprehension of it,

* "Works," vii. 479.

† "Les doctrines Catholiques ont gardé sur Pope une influence plus grande qu'on ne le dit" (M. Montegut in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 15, 1888).

‡ Mr. Courthope remarks: "The 'Examen' of Crousay suddenly revealed to him [Pope] that while he supposed himself to have been building a bulwark

he regarded as the complement and perfection of the Theism taught by Nature herself. No one can doubt his earnest sincerity when he proclaims in his magnificent verse the august verities of Natural Religion, the commanding sanctities of Natural Morality. And his exposition is the more penetrative with a certain class of minds—a large class, too—because it is delivered, not by a professed metaphysician, not by an accredited divine, but by a man of the world who, as he himself said of Horace, “without method talks us into sense.” Pope is no idealist, no mystic, no seer oppressed with the abundance of the revelations vouchsafed to him. Only once, perhaps, does he “attain to something of prophetic strain,” in that wonderful passage at the end of the “Dunciad”: “astonishing lines” indeed, in which, as Thackeray judges, he “proves himself the equal of all poets of all times.” But in his own way he, too, also felt “the burden and the mystery of all this unintelligible world.” Still, whatever was doubtful to him, the supremacy of duty was clear. It was enough for him to know that man is made for virtue, and that our true felicity lies in practising virtue. For the rest he was content to “wait the great teacher Death, and God adore.” It seems to me, then, that Herder, one of the soundest of critics, was well warranted in his judgment: “Pope’s *Gedichte für eine gereimte Blüthensammlung aller Moral, und vielen Weltkennniss und Weltklugheit dienen können.*”^{*} Lord Byron, though neither moral nor religious himself, knew perfectly well what morality and religion are, and I can hardly tax him with more than rhetorical exaggeration when he wrote: “Pope is the great moral poet of all times, of all climes, and of all stages of existence. His poetry is the Book of Life. Without canting, and yet without neglecting religion, he has assembled all that a good and great man can gather together of moral wisdom, clothed in consummate beauty.”[†] Mr. Ruskin is assuredly one of the noblest and most ennobling

for religion [in the ‘*Essay on Man*’], he had been unconsciously undermining its basis. His relief may therefore be imagined when a champion [Warburton] stepped forward, and undertook to prove that the ‘*Essay*’ was not only philosophic, but orthodox. . . . The distress which he had felt at Crousay’s attack was equalled by his gratitude to his rescuer” (“*Works*,” v. 329–331).

^{*} “*Werke*,” iv. 400.

[†] Moore’s “*Works of Lord Byron*,” v. 169.

teachers of the day, whom we may always hear gladly, whether we assent or not; and this is his counsel to his pupils at Oxford and to his readers throughout the world: "The serene and just benevolence which placed Pope, in his theology, two centuries in advance of his time, enabled him to sum the law of noble life in two lines which, so far as I know, are the most complete, the most concise, and the most lofty expression of moral temper existing in English words:

Never elated while one man's oppress'd,
Never dejected while another's bless'd.

I wish you also to remember these lines of Pope, and to make yourselves entirely masters of his system of ethics; because, putting Shakespeare aside as rather the world's than ours, I hold Pope to be the most perfect representative we have since Chaucer of the true English mind; and I think the '*Dunciad*' is the most absolutely chiselled and monumental work 'exacted' in our country. You will find, as you study Pope, that he has expressed for you, in the strictest language, and within the briefest limits, every law of art, of criticism, of economy, of policy, and finally of a benevolence, humble, rational, and resigned, contented with its allotted share of life, and trusting the problem of its salvation to Him in whose hand lies that of the universe."*

It remains to speak of the edition of Pope's works published by Mr. Murray—we may call it the definitive edition, for no other is likely to supersede it—the title of which I have prefixed to this article, and which has supplied the immediate occasion for my writing. "Pope's poetry," wrote Professor Connington thirty-five years ago, "has hardly yet received the careful critical examination which it deserves."† One object of Mr. Murray's edition is to supply this desideratum. It was originally projected by Mr. Croker, who collected a considerable mass of material for it, and who, indeed, made a beginning of it. On his death Mr. Peter Cunningham took up the work for a brief time. But he, too, soon dying, Mr. Elwin was selected to continue it. The selection cannot be considered fortunate. Mr. Elwin no doubt

* "Lectures on Art," p. 89.

† "Oxford Essays," 1858, p. 51.

possesses a large quantity of small information which he freely imparts, as occasion allows, in elucidation of petty problems in Pope's poetry or prose. His dissertation prefixed to the "Essay on Man" manifests that he possesses also an acquaintance with metaphysics and theology sufficient to enable him to show—what indeed all the world already knew—that the poet was neither a philosopher nor a divine. But he is utterly devoid of that first requisite for commenting upon a classic—sympathy with the subject of his criticism. A Protestant clergyman, of a somewhat obsolete type, he judges of everything in heaven and earth from his professional point of view.

The builder of this Universe was wise,
He planned all souls, all system, planets, particles;
The plan he shaped the world and æons by
Was—— Heavens! was thy small Nine-and-thirty Articles!

Such appears to be Mr. Elwin's serious conviction. I am far from blaming him, as an Anglican clergyman, for entertaining it. But manifestly this intellectual standpoint, although appropriate enough for the editor of a parochial magazine or a Sunday-school hymn-book, is inadequate for the editor of a great poet, who was also a steadfast if a lax Catholic, and an accomplished man of the world. Breadth of view, largeness of mind, tolerant indulgence, are essential qualifications for the task which Mr. Elwin undertook:

He only judges right who weighs, compares,
And in the sternest sentence which his voice
Pronounces, e'er remembers charity.

But Mr. Elwin writes of Pope in the spirit of a narrow and bitter sectary. His carping criticisms resemble nothing so much as the fretful chidings of anile animosity. Fortunately, after a time—too long a time, indeed—he resigned his editorial functions into the hands of Mr. Courthope. No more competent hands could have been found. "A union of great knowledge of literary history with great power of poetical criticism is necessary for the task," Professor Connington wrote. Such knowledge and power Mr. Courthope manifests on every page. He possesses, in a unique degree, that *τῶν λογῶν κρίσις* which, Longinus justly says, *πολλῆς ἐστὶ πείρας τελευταῖον ἐπιγέννημα*. He possesses, also, a rare acquaintance

with human nature, and a quite judicial faculty of surveying all sides of a question, of skilfully marshalling facts, and of rightly appreciating their bearing upon an issue. It is not too much to say of him that he realises Pope's own idea of a critic.

But where's the man who counsel can bestow,
Still pleased to teach and yet not proud to know?
Unbiased, or by favour or by spite;
Not dully prepossessed, nor blindly right;
Though learn'd, well-bred; and though well-bred, sincere;
Modestly bold, and humanly severe;
Who to a friend his faults can freely show,
And gladly praise the merit of a foe?
Blest with a taste exact, yet unconfined;
A knowledge both of books and human kind;
Generous converse; a soul exempt from pride;
And love to praise with reason on his side?

Mr. Courthope's *Life of Pope*, which fills the greater part of the fifth volume, presents a clear, candid, and comprehensive account of the poet's career and work. The fifteenth chapter of it, which discusses his place in English literature, is a model of sound and judicious criticism. The following extract from it may fitly serve to conclude this article:

Pope was an ethical and satiric poet, but ethical and satirical poetry was what his age needed, and in that order of poetry he is a classic. His place in English poetry is in fact assured. Taking up the work that Dryden had begun, he saved poetry from the swamp in which it was sinking from a too conservative attachment to an obsolete idea of Nature, and to effete modes of composition. He placed it on a new foundation of Nature, corresponding with the general intelligence of his age, and he furnished it with a new ideal of harmonious and correct expression, the effects of which are still felt in the language. As the poet of the Revolution of 1688, his style is characterised by many of the limitations which the temper of the times rendered almost inevitable. But all his best work was done in a spirit well deserving of the name "classical," by which his style is generally distinguished.

W. S. LILLY.

ART. VII.—THE EARLY GALLICAN LITURGY.

PART II.

THE first part of this paper had for its purpose to give some account of the structure of the Early Gallican or Hispano-Gallican Liturgy, and to call attention to some points of contact and correspondence between this Liturgy and the Roman Mass which appeared to have hitherto escaped notice, or at least not to have received adequate recognition. And these coincidences naturally suggested the hypothesis that all the Western rites—Gallican and Spanish, Ambrosian and Roman—are to be referred to a common Western origin. Historical considerations suggest that the cradle of the Western Liturgies is to be sought in Rome, and such positive information on the subject as can be gathered from various sources, instead of going counter to the antecedent historical probability, seems on the contrary rather to confirm it. No one, it may be presumed, would wish to deny that the Gallican and Spanish Churches and those of Northern Italy may at one time or another have borrowed particular usages or liturgical formulæ from the East, independently of Rome; and it would be the height of absurdity to suppose that the Gallican rite could have been derived from that comparatively late form of the Roman Liturgy which the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries set before us. But, so far as it is possible to sum up the probable history of the matter in a single sentence, it would seem that in the interval between the second and the sixth century the primitive Roman Liturgy had undergone a very thorough process of reconstructive development, while the Gallican rite, though partly sharing in the changes initiated at Rome, and partly carrying them to an exaggerated excess, nevertheless continued to retain certain archaic features long after they had been discarded by the Roman Church.*

* Abbot Hilduin, who died A.D. 840, speaks of the Gallican *Ordo Missæ* as "ab initio receptæ fidei usu in hac Occidentali plaga habitus, usque quo tenorem, quo nunc utitur, Romanum suscepit." And of the Roman Liturgy he writes: "Datur intelligi" (as an inference from certain letters of various Roman Pontiffs) "ab annis pluribus hunc missæ tenorem de Gallica consuetudine recessisse" (*Ep. ad Ludovicum Pium*, n. 5, in Migne, P.L. cvi. 17).

It has been already pointed out that the most striking characteristic which distinguishes the Western from the Eastern Liturgies is the use, not merely of Lessons and Antiphons which vary with the season or festival (for this is common to all rites, Eastern and Western), but also of variable prayers. But whereas the Roman Mass in the seventh century admitted daily variations only in (1) the principal Collect, (2) the *Secreta*, (3) the Post-communion, and (4) the Preface, together with (5) occasional changes in the prayers *Communicantes* and *Hanc igitur*, the Gallican Liturgy exhibits no less than eleven or twelve variable elements, apart from the antiphonal portions of the service, in the *Missa Fidelium* alone. And in this multiplication of variables lies the exaggerated excess to which reference was made in the foregoing paragraph.

When, however, it is found—as was pointed out in my previous paper—that six of these Gallican variables fall into pairs, the first member of each pair having been an introductory “bidding prayer,” and when it is further found that these three pairs of prayers answer respectively to the Roman Collect, *Secreta*, and Post-communion, the bidding prayer being represented in the first and third cases by the simple Roman *Oremus*, and in the second case by the *Orate fratres*, it becomes evident that the relation between the two rites is closer than might at first sight appear.*

As regards the details of the two rites, I have confined myself heretofore to the consideration of those prayers which preceded the Preface or which followed the Communion. In the following pages our concern will be with that central portion of the Mass which extends from the Preface or “Contestation” to the *Embolismus*, by which term the prayer which immediately follows the *Pater Noster* is commonly designated.† And we may begin by considering the two groups which stand respectively at the outset and at the close of this section of the

* It is unnecessary to repeat here what was said in the July number of this REVIEW concerning the transference of the principal collect in the Roman Liturgy from its primitive position after the Gospel to its present place before the Epistle. A reminiscence of the older usage is preserved in the *Oremus* (followed by no collect) which is still said at the commencement of the Offertory in the Roman Mass.

† It is so called because the corresponding prayer in the Greek Liturgies is accompanied or followed by the dropping of a particle of the sacred Host into the chalice.

Liturgy. Any one who has assisted at High Mass can hardly fail to have been struck with the analogy between the chant of the Preface which leads up to the *Sanctus* and that of the lesser Preface, the *Præfatiuncula* as it may be fitly called (*Præceptis salutaribus moniti*), by which the *Pater Noster* is introduced.* But the Gallican Liturgy carries the analogy a step further. For just as the *Embolismus* or *Libera nos* takes up and develops the last petition of the Lord's Prayer, so the Gallican *Post Sanctus* (commencing for the most part with the words *Vere Sanctus, Vere benedictus*) takes up and develops the leading ideas of the *Sanctus*. Moreover, whereas in the Roman Liturgy the greater Preface alone is variable, while the *Præfatiuncula* and *Embolismus* are fixed formulæ, and the *Post Sanctus* (at least in its old form) is wanting, the Gallican rite exhibits the following complete parallelism.

Preface (variable).

SANCTUS.

Post Sanctus (variable).

Præfatiuncula (variable).

PATER NOSTER.

Embolismus (variable).

It may be of interest to give a single example of a Gallican *Præfatiuncula* and *Embolismus*.

(*Præf.*)—Agnosce Domine verba quæ præcepisti, ignosce præsumptioni quam imperasti. Ignorantia est enim non nosse meritum, contumacia non servare præceptum quibus jubemur dicere: PATER, &c.†

(*Embol.*)—Libera nos a malis, auctor bonorum omnium, Deus; libera nos ab omni tentatione, ab omni scandalo, ab omni hæresi, ab omni opere tenebrarum; et constitue nos in omni opere bono, et da pacem in diebus nostris, auctor pacis et veritas Deus. Per.‡

Now it deserves to be noticed—the more so as the point appears to have been hitherto overlooked—that, notwithstanding their variability, these two prayers in the Gallican Liturgy are much more closely allied to the corresponding formulæ in the Roman rite than to their analogues in any of the Eastern Liturgies. These Liturgies, too, have a lesser Preface, and an *Embolismus*. But whereas the Gallican *præfatiuncula* agree without exception in emphasising the idea which is ex-

* The similarity will have been still more marked when both the *Sanctus* and the *Pater Noster* were chanted or recited aloud by the whole people.

† *Missale Gothicum*, sixth *Missa Dominicalis* (Neale & Forbes, *Gallican Liturgies*, p. 150).

‡ *Ibid.* third *M. Dom.* (Neale & Forbes, p. 146).

pressed in the Roman formula, "*Præceptis moniti, audemus dicere*," the student will seek in vain for a Greek or Eastern *præfatiuncula* which embodies the same thought; and whereas the Gallican *embolismus* invariably agrees with the Roman in commencing with the phrase *Libera nos*, not a single instance can be found, so far as I am aware, of an Eastern *embolismus*, which begins with the corresponding phrase.*

Nor is this the only instance occurring in the central portion of the liturgical service in which the Western Liturgies exhibit a closer affinity among themselves than with the Eastern rites. For in the first place, while the Roman, Ambrosian, Gallican, and Spanish Masses agree in introducing the recital of the Institution (*i.e.*, the Consecration) with the words, "*Qui pridie* (or *Ipse enim pridie*) *quam pateretur*," the Eastern Liturgies are no less unanimous in the use of the formula "*in quâ nocte tradebatur*," or its equivalent. If we may trust the testimony of the *Liber Pontificalis* and our own interpretation of that testimony, the change from the Eastern to the Western form was introduced in Rome by Pope St. Alexander, whose pontificate fell in the early years of the second century.†

Again, whereas the Eastern Liturgies without exception place the solemn Fraction of the Sacred Host after the *Pater Noster*, in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites this ceremony precedes the *Pater*. And we have the clear though somewhat

* "*Rogamus te, Deus Pater omnipotens, ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo*." Thus begins the *Embolismus* in the Liturgy of St. Mark and in the Coptic St. Cyril (Swainson, *Gk. Lit.* pp. 62, 63); and this is the nearest approach to the Western form. In the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, the *Embolismus* is a prayer that God would look down in mercy on the bowed heads of the congregation (*ibid.* pp. 85-86, 96-97). The corresponding prayer in St. James is closely similar to that in St. Mark (*ibid.* pp. 306-309).

† "*Hic passionem Domini miscuit in prædicatione (? precatione) sacerdotum quando missæ celebrantur*" (L.P. ed. Duchesne, p. 127. In the earlier recensions, pp. 54, 55, the last three words are not read). With great respect for M. Duchesne, I venture to think that his note on this passage is misleading: "*L'auteur attribue ici à Alexandre l'insertion dans la liturgie du Qui pridie, c'est à dire des paroles commémoratives de l'institution de l'Eucharistie!*" (Italics mine). But there is question here not of "words commemorative of the institution of the Eucharist," but of inserting in the "words commemorative of the institution" a phrase commemorative of the Passion—that is to say, of substituting "*Qui pridie quam pateretur*" for "*In qua nocte tradebatur*." Altaserra's observation, quoted by D. *ad loc.* is beside the mark: "*Constitutum di memoria passionis Christi in missæ sacrificio celebranda non est proprium Alexandri, sed potius ipsius Christi*."

indirect testimony of St. Gregory the Great that such, down to his own time, was the custom in the Roman Church also. Indeed it can hardly be doubted that the change introduced by St. Gregory was suggested by the Eastern usage.*

These important points of agreement among the early Western, as against the Eastern rites, should be carefully kept in mind, lest an undue bias should be created by too exclusive a consideration of the points of difference which we shall presently have to consider.

Returning now to the *Sanctus* and its accompaniments, we may notice in the first place that the Gallican *Contestatio* and the Mozarabic *Illatio* are for the most part considerably more elaborate than those shorter Prefaces with which the Reformed Roman Missal has made us all familiar.† This however is a point of detail, and the same character of diffuseness is in some measure shared by the earlier Roman Prefaces which

* Ep. ix. 12, ad Joannem Syracusanum (P.L. lxxvii. 955 sqq.). It had been objected against Gregory that he had introduced Byzantine customs into the Roman Liturgy, and in particular "quia orationem Dominicam *mox post canonem* (i.e., before instead of after the Fraction) dici statuitis." He replies: "Orationem vero Dominicam idcirco *mox post prece[m] dicimus*, quia mos apostolorum fuit ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent. Et valde mihi inconveniens visum est ut *prece[m] quam scholasticus composuerat* super oblationem diceremus, et ipsam traditionem quam Redemptor noster composuit super ejus corpus et sanguinem non diceremus." This reply has been strangely misunderstood from the Middle Ages down to our own times. St. Gregory was supposed to assert that the *Pater Noster* was the only liturgical formula in use in Apostolic times! But surely the meaning is precisely the reverse of this. In Apostolic times the *Pater Noster* had no place in the central portion of the Mass, and possibly formed no part of the Liturgy (which would explain its absence from the Clementine rite); the *oratio oblationis* (i.e., the *prex*, afterwards known as the Canon) alone accompanying the Consecration. Dr. Probst was the first to point out that we must join *orationem oblationis* (not *oblationis hostiam*), and that the *oratio oblationis* is not the Lord's Prayer (*oratio Dominica*), but the *prex* or Canon (*Lit. der drei erst. Jahrh.*, pp. 355-6). Cf. Dr. Gasquet's art., "The Early History of the Mass," in this REVIEW (1890, i. 286).

† E.g. the *Contestatio* of the Mass for Christmas Day in the *M. Gothicum* runs as follows:—"Dignum et justum est, nos tibi gratias agere, Domine Deus, per Christum Jesum Filium tuum, qui cum Deus esset æternus, hominiferi pro nostra salute dignatus est. O unice singulare, et multiplex salvatoris nostri mysterium! Nam unus idemque et Deus summus et homo perfectus, et pontifex maximus et sacrificium sacratissimum, secundum divinam potentiam creavit omnia, secundum humanam conditionem liberavit hominem; secundum vim sacrificii expiavit commaculatos, secundum jus sacerdotii reconciliavit offensos. O unice redemptionis mysterium singulare! in quo vetusta illa vulnera novâ Dominus medicinâ sanavit, et primi hominis præjudicia salutaris nostri privilegia resciderunt. Ille [i.e. Adam] concupiscentiæ exagitatus stimulus, hic obedientiæ confixus est clavis; ille ad arborem manus incontinententer tendit, iste ad crucem patienter aptavit." And so on, through a series of contrasts very aptly expressed.

have been preserved in the Leonine and Gelasian Sacramentaries.

It has been already said that the *Post Sanctus* takes up and develops the leading phrases of the triumphal hymn; but it must now be further noted that this prayer in the Gallican Mass forms a connecting link which brings the *Sanctus* and the words of Institution into immediate and organic connection, since it invariably leads up to and introduces the words *Qui pridie quam pateretur*, or *Ipse enim pridie*, &c. To give only a single instance, the P.S. for the Feast of St. Stephen, in the *M. Gothicum*, runs as follows:

Vere Sanctus vere Benedictus Dominus noster Jesus Christus Unigenitus tuus, qui martyrem tuum Stephanum cœlestis aulæ collegio muneravit, qui corporis nostri infirmitatem suscepit, et priusquam pium sanguinem pro humana salute funderet, mysterium sacrae sollemnitatis instituit. Ipse enim pridie.*

And as that portion of the Roman Canon which precedes the recital of the words of Institution is represented in the Gallican Liturgy by a single prayer, so also another single prayer, the *Post Secrata*, *Post Mysterium*, or *Post Pridie*, takes the place of the three prayers which in the Roman Mass immediately follow the Consecration. Now herein, it need hardly be said, lies the most marked difference which distinguishes the Gallican and Mozarabic from the Roman rite. And is not this difference, it may be asked, alone sufficient to establish the independent origin of the Hispano-Gallican Liturgy? I think not, and for the following reasons.

In the first place, however venerable may be the antiquity of much of the phraseology which it embodies, it can hardly be maintained that the Gregorian Canon is, as regards the details of its structure, really primitive. The most cautious and conservative of students may well spare himself the pains of defending the Apostolic or sub-Apostolic origin of a Canon which St. Gregory the Great himself describes as "*precem quam scholasticus composuerat*," whatever precise meaning we may attach to the word *scholasticus*. And a careful investigation of all the available evidence will, I think, go far to show that the contrast between the Roman Canon

* Neale & Forbes, pp. 39, 40.

and the Gallican *Post Sanctus* and *Post Prædicæ* is not such as to prevent us from referring the two Liturgies to a common and a Roman source.

And, to begin with the *Post Sanctus*, it is to be noted that among all Liturgies, Eastern and Western, the Roman Canon stands alone in not passing by a continuous transition from the *Sanctus* to the words of Institution ; alone in inserting distinct prayers of commemoration (*Memento, Communicantes*) and of oblation (*Hanc igitur, Quam oblationem*) at this point of the Liturgy ; alone again in separating the *Memento* for the living from that for the dead. The antecedent probabilities then are distinctly in favour of the hypothesis that the Roman rite in its primitive form had in this place, like all other Liturgies, only a single prayer connecting the *Sanctus* with the words of Institution. But we are not left to mere antecedent probabilities for our information on this point. Tradition combines with internal evidence and with liturgical analogy to show that the Gregorian Canon is, like other portions of the Roman rite, the outcome of a gradual process of liturgical development and reconstruction. The mediæval liturgical writers, Walafrid Strabo, Remy of Auxerre, Berno of Reichenau, and the Micrologus, while fully recognising the impossibility of tracing in detail the history of the formation of the Roman Canon, has no hesitation as regards the fact of its gradual development.*

And a careful scrutiny of the Canon itself can hardly fail to lead us, as it led Walafrid Strabo, to the same conclusion.† Even had we nothing but the actual structure of the Roman Canon to go upon, it would be impossible not to suspect that the *Memento* for the living and the dead originally stood in closer juxtaposition than they do at present. Their opening words *Memento* and *Memento etiam* (especially when compared with the *Μνήσθητι* and *Μνήσθητι ἔτι* of the Greek rites), sufficiently indicate this. Nor is extraneous evidence wanting, of

* *P.L.* cxiv. 948 ; cxlii. 1057 ; cli. 985 ; ci. 1246.

† "Actio vero sive Canon ex eo cognoscitur maxime per partes compositus quod nomina Sanctorum quorum ibi communicatio et societas flagitur duobus in locis posita reperiuntur" (*P.L.* cxiv. 948). This writer has not, perhaps, been altogether happy in his choice of an instance to prove his point ; but his instinct has rightly told him that the Roman Canon bears internal marks of growth by accretion or transference.

a character quite distinct from that of the general statements already quoted from mediæval writers. The Canon of the Mass in the single extant MS. of the so-called Gelasian, and in the oldest codices of the Gregorian Sacramentary, has no *Memento* for the dead in its present position. Now since it is impossible to believe that the commemoration of the dead was ever omitted in any Liturgy whatsoever, it is most natural to suppose that previously to the eighth century (roughly speaking) it was inserted in its natural place after the *Communicantes*.* And this supposition receives a welcome confirmation from the *Codex Rossanensis* of the so-called *Liturgia S. Petri*, which in this very place—viz., after the *Communicantes*—inserts the rubric Ἐνταῦθα ἀναφέρει τοὺς κοιμηθέντας ("Here he prays for the dead").†

This, however, is not the whole of the case. Assuming the truth of what has just been said, it will be noticed that the first part of the Gregorian Canon in reality contains a fourfold commemoration—viz. (1) Of the Church, Pope, Bishop, and all the faithful;‡ (2) of those for whom the Holy Sacrifice is more specially offered, or for whom the celebrant desires more particularly to pray; (3) of the Saints; and (4) of the dead. Yet although these four commemorations manifestly form a series, I cannot bring myself to believe that this series originally had its place in the first part of the Canon. The position of the corresponding prayers in the Eastern Liturgies suggests that these commemorations were originally made not between the Preface and the words of Institution, but *after* the Consecration. And here again the surmise which is suggested by liturgical analogy receives confirmation from other sources. For in the first place, just as the phrase *Memento etiam* implies a foregoing *Memento*, so also the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* implies an immediately preceding prayer for some

* I say "in its natural place," because in other Liturgies the commemoration of the departed *for* whom we pray invariably follows (when, indeed, it is not indistinguishably mingled with) the commemoration of the blessed dead whose intercession we seek.

† The *Liturgia S. Petri* is admittedly nothing more than a Greek translation of the Roman Canon inserted into a Byzantine framework, presumably for the use of some of the churches in S.E. Italy. It is extant in several MSS., of which the oldest is the *Cod. Rossanensis* (sæc. ix. ?), from which it has been printed by Swainson, p. 191 *sqq.*

‡ The analogy of all other early liturgical documents constrains us to believe that the enumeration was originally drawn out in much fuller detail.

class of persons to whom *nos peccatores* are added. The *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* then helps to fix the earlier position of the fourfold commemoration, each member of which, we may be sure, originally commenced with the word *Memento*, just as in the Greek Liturgies all such commemorations are introduced by the word *Μνήσθητι*. And here again the Rossano MS. of the *Liturgia Petri* comes to our assistance. For immediately before the *Nobis . . . peccatoribus* it inserts the beginning of a *Memento* for the living (*ἐν πρώτοις μνήσθητι Κ. τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου*) and the rubric "here he commemorates (*ἀναφέρει*) the living."* Similarly the Stowe Missal inserts here, though rather clumsily, a *Memento* for the living. Surely these are reminiscences of the old practice according to which the Roman Liturgy, like the Clementine and those of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and St. James, commemorated the living and the dead alike after the consecration and the Epiklesis. Of this practice we seem to have still more emphatic evidence in the well-known letter of Innocent I. to Decentius of Gubbio, the purport of which—as regards this point—appears to me to have been overlooked.† The letter is commonly quoted as proving that in the time of Innocent the *Memento* for the living and for the dead formed part of the Canon of the Roman Mass. And so much it certainly does prove beyond all question. But unless I am greatly mistaken it proves more than this—viz., that the Commemoration in question came *after*, and not before, the Consecration. For (1) the question proposed by Decentius was "*De nominibus recitandis antequam prece[m] sacerdos faciat*," the *prex* here referred to being undoubtedly the Canon;‡ and (2) the answer is that "*prius oblationes sunt commendandæ . . . ut inter sacra mysteria nominentur . . . ut ipsis mysteriis viam futuris precibus aperiamus*." Now the phrase "*prius oblationes commendandæ*," might refer to the *Te igitur* or a similar prayer, and the clause "*inter sacra mysteria*" is not decisive. But the concluding words, "*ut ipsis mysteriis*

* Other MSS. of this liturgy have neither *Memento* nor rubric here.

† I know not on what ground the authenticity of this letter has been called in question by Mr. Venables (*Diet. Chr. Antig.* p. 904 b.). He refers to Scudamore, *Not. Euch.* p. 437, which work I have not been able to consult. Jaffé (*Regesta*, n. 311) suggests no doubt as to the genuineness of the document, and it is referred to by Hilduin in his letter to Louis the Pious.

‡ For the use of *prex* to designate the Canon, see the letter of St. Gregory to John of Syracuse quoted in a previous note.

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viam futuris precibus aperiamus," surely imply that the Consecration preceded the recital of the names. The half-dozen lines of the *Te igitur* which introduce the prayer for the Church could hardly be referred to as *ipsa mysteria*.

But if, in accordance with what has been said, the *Memento* for the living, and the prayer *Communicantes*, as well as a portion of the *Te igitur*, are to be regarded as having been transferred from their original position before the *Memento pro defunctis* to their present place in the first portion of the Canon, it follows that what originally intervened between the *Sanctus* and the *Pridie* must have been relatively short, or at any rate comparatively simple in structure.

But we can go one step further back. In the treatise *De Sacramentis*, which was erroneously ascribed to St. Ambrose, but which may be probably assigned to the fifth or perhaps the sixth century, a considerable portion of the Romano-Milanese Canon in use at that time, and possibly the whole of it, has been preserved. With the exception of some verbal differences, which are, indeed, of considerable interest, but which it would be beside my purpose to discuss here, it answers to the Roman Canon, from *Quam oblationem* down to the end of the prayer *Supplices*.* The first prayer, however, apparently had an independent beginning, "Fac nobis [Domine] hanc oblationem," instead of commencing with a relative pronoun ("Quam") as in the Roman Canon. So that it is at least possible that the *Te igitur* and *Hanc igitur* (of which the latter obviously resumes and echoes the former) may be of later introduction. Moreover, in this precious liturgical fragment, the three prayers, *Unde et memores*, *Supra quæ*, and *Supplices*, which in the Roman Mass immediately follow the Consecration, are here represented by a single continuous prayer precisely after the manner of a Gallican *Post Secreta* or Mozarabic *Post Pridie*, a circumstance which at least suggests that the earlier portion of the Canon may likewise have consisted of a single prayer introduced by a variable *Vere Sanctus* clause.†

But this is not all. It is, presumably, well known to

* The argument is not affected if the *De Sacramentis* be regarded as a Gallican rather than a Milanese tract.

† It is remarkable that the Rogation Masses in the *Missale Gothicum* have a *Post Sanctus* commencing with *Hanc igitur*. So, too, has the first Advent Mass in the *Missale Gallicanum* (Neale & Forbes, pp. 115, 156).

liturgical specialists—though they do not always mention the fact where one might expect them to do so—that the Ambrosian *Canon Missæ* for Holy Saturday combines the Roman and Gallican (or early Western?) pre-consecration formulæ, as follows :

- (1) *Te igitur*, down to “*hæc sancta sacrificia illibata.*”
- (2) *Vere Sanctus*, *vere Benedictus*, &c., a prayer in the form known to us as Gallican, but introducing the names of Pope, Bishop, Emperor, and King, and a special commemoration of the recently baptized.
- (3) The prayers, *Memento*, *Communicantes*, *Hanc igitur* (inserting the same clause in relation to the newly baptized) and *Quam oblationem*.

Now no one, I think, can seriously doubt that the oldest part of this conflate Canon is the *Vere Sanctus* ; for it would be contrary to all that we know of the gradual Romanising of the Ambrosian rite to suppose that a distinctively Gallican prayer had been inserted in the Roman Canon ; whereas the retention (on Holy Saturday alone) of the primitive *Post Sanctus* side by side with the reformed Roman Canon is in conformity with other survivals of early liturgical formulæ in the services of the great Paschal Triduum. But if the Ambrosian Mass originally possessed a *Post Sanctus* of the type known to us as Gallican, which prayer it has retained in one Mass alone, what possible difficulty can there be in supposing that the Roman Mass also originally had this same form, even though it has not retained it even in a single Mass ? The divergences of the Ambrosian Liturgy from the Roman are so comparatively slight that it is difficult to see how anything but a strong tendency, conscious or unconscious, to minimise the influence of Rome in early times could have led any one to suppose that the origin of the Milanese rite was to be sought elsewhere than in Rome.

Let us now turn to yet another quarter in search of fresh light on the subject. The oldest extant Liturgy is undoubtedly that which is embodied in the Eighth Book of the so-called Apostolical Constitutions. Now in this Liturgy the central portion of the Mass consists of the following parts :

1. A very long historical Preface, in which thanks are given for God's mercies under the Old Testament, down to the entrance of the Israelites into the Promised Land.
2. A *Post Sanctus* commencing with the words, “*Ἅγιος εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς*” (“*Vere enim Sanctus es*”), and continuing the history onwards into the New Dispensation as far as the Ascension.

3. The words of Institution introduced by the phrase 'Εν ἣ γὰρ νυκτὶ παρεδίδοτο ("in quâ nocte tradetatur").

4. The *Anamnesis*, a prayer commencing with the words *Μεμνημένοι οὖν*, and answering more closely to the Roman *Unde et memores* than to any Gallican *Post Secreta* or Mozarabic *Post Prædic.*

5. The *Epiklesis* or Invocation of the Holy Spirit.

6. (a) The *Memento* for the Church and all its orders.

(b) The Commemoration of the Saints.

(c) The *Memento* for the Dead.

7. The "prayer of humble access" partly answering to our *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*.

Now the general relation of this very early Liturgy to the Gallican rite is easy to see, and all the more so because a link in the chain of devolution is supplied by the collection of fifth century Masses unearthed by Mone in 1851. In the Prefaces which we find in the Gallican Sacramentaries of the seventh century, as also in those of the Mozarabic Missal, the general history of God's dealings with mankind has given place to a commemorative recital of the particular mystery which is being celebrated, or of some facts from the life of the Saint whose festival is being kept. But in the Monian Masses, which go back to a time when the liturgical formulæ had, indeed, become liable to variation, but had apparently not yet been specialised to suit the seasons and festivals of the ecclesiastical year, at least two Prefaces are found of that general historical type which is presented by the Clementine rite. It may be worth while to quote one of them here. It is from the third Mass in the Reichenau Missal:

"Dignum et justum est, vere æquum et justum est, nos tibi gratias agere, omnipotens æterne Deus, Pater, Unigenite, Spiritus Sancte ex Patre et Filio mysticâ processione subsistens: una eademque in Sancta Trinitate trium personarum substantia, cœterna essentia et non discreta concordia, æqualis potentia, voluntas unita, ipsa apud se permanens ante tempora universa vel sæcula; nihil ultra se habens, nihil intra se nesciens cuncta supereminens et se cunctis infundens, loca continens et locis excedens, nullius indigens et omnia complens, sermone ineffabilis, virtute efficax. Etsi voce non capax, solo præcepto potentia, cælum terram maria cum suis formis in generibus procreasti; sed inter reliquas animantium creaturas, ut peculiarius in tua laude viverent, hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem beatissimæ Trinitatis condidisti, ut collocatus in suavitate paradisi, creatori serviens creaturis reliquis imperaret, et tibi fideliter famulando haberet in aliis generibus dominatum. Sed culpâ

prævaricationis admissâ successit mors. . . . Tu autem clemens et conditor condolens ad illum inclinâtâ potentiâ descendisti," &c.*

But whereas when the theme to be treated embraced the whole history of God's mercies to man, it was easy to divide the material between the Preface and the *Post Sanctus*, there was no obvious motive for doing so when a special mystery was alone to be commemorated. Hence the extreme abruptness of some, and the comparative brevity of all the Gallican and Mozarabic forms of the *Post Sanctus*. Of these the reader has already seen two specimens, to which I here add two more, which from our present point of view are still more striking.

Vere Sanctus vere benedictus D. n. J. C. Filius tuus : Qui pridie.

Vere Sanctus vere benedictus D. n. J. C. . . . manens in cœlis manifestatus in terris. Ipse enim pridie.†

Now it is clear how serious a loss of solemnity, and that too in the most solemn part of the Mass, was involved in the transition from the long Clementine to the short Gallican *Post Sanctus*, involving as it did so sudden and abrupt a passage from the triumphal hymn (as the *Sanctus* is fitly called) to the words of Institution. Nor is it to be wondered at if the "Scholasticus" who set in order the Roman Canon, sought to compensate for this loss of solemnity by transferring to the first part of the Canon certain prayers which originally found their place after the Consecration.

We have already seen that there is some reason for thinking that the prayers *Hanc igitur* and *Quam oblationem*, and the opening clauses of the *Te igitur*, may probably have grown out of a single continuous formula of oblation, which is in fact represented by a single sentence in the Liturgy of St. Mark. And, indeed, if it were desired to transfer the Commemorations to this part of the Canon, it could hardly have been better done than by enclosing them between two formulæ of oblation which answer to each other so perfectly in thought and language as do the *Te igitur* (down to *hæc s. sacrificia illibata*) and the *Hanc igitur*. Nor, again, could anything be more natural or more in accordance with liturgical analogy than that prayers of commemorative intercession should attach themselves to

* Neale and Forbes, p. 7.

† From the *M. Aug.* and *M. Goth.* respectively (Neale & Forbes, pp. 4, 33).

prayers of oblation. But a word must yet be said about the phrase *Te igitur*, &c., which has displaced, as we have good reason to believe, the primitive *Vere Sanctus*. And with the *Te igitur* may fitly be conjoined the strictly parallel and resumptive expression *Hanc igitur*, which immediately follows the *Memento* and *Communicantes*. Unless I am greatly mistaken, the occurrence of these words in this place is not unconnected with the circumstance that similar expressions are of such frequent occurrence in early forms of the Preface. The following examples are taken from Gallican Contestations and Mozarabic Illations :

*Te igitur ineffabilem rerum omnium conditorem laudamus, benedicimus, adoramus.**

Tibi ergo, summe genitor pura devotione immaculatum munus offerimus et . . . pium sacrificium celebramus.†

Unde supplices rogamus clementissime Pater ut . . . inter cœlestium virtutum laudes humilitatis nostræ voces suscipias.‡

Te ergo quesumus Domine Deus noster, exaudi, sanctifica plebem tuam, &c.§

Tuo igitur nomini offerentes victimam mundam rogamus atque exposcimus, &c.||

Per eum te igitur flagitamus omnipotens Pater, &c.¶

With these formulæ should be compared the similar "illative" clauses which find a place in the very ancient Roman Prefaces which are still in use on Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday. Thus, in the blessing of the Chrism we have, in the body of the Preface,

Te igitur deprecamur Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeternæ

* From the first *Missa Dominicalis* in the *M. Gothicum* (Neale & Forbes, p. 142).

† From the *Missa Clausum Pasche* (sic), in the *M. Goth.* and *M. Gall.* (Neale & Forbes, pp. 110, 201).

‡ From the *Missa in Inventionem S. Crucis* in the *M. Goth.* (Neale & Forbes, p. 111.) Compare the Roman "*Te igitur clementissime Pater supplices rogamus . . . uti accepta habeas,*" &c.

§ From the *Missa in Natale Domini* of the *M. Bobbiense* (Neale & Forbes, p. 222). Similar illative clauses may be found on pp. 79, 243 (*Ergo suscipe*), 298 (*Tu ergo*), 299 (*Tuas igitur*), 315 (*Quapropter omnipotentiam*), 347 (*Proinde Domine subnixi deposcimus*), &c.

|| *Missale Mozarabicum*, Dom. i. Quadr. (P.L. lxxxv. 303).

¶ *Ibid.* fer vi. ante Dom. Palm. (*ibid.* p. 388). Other illative formulæ occurring in the body of the Preface will be found in the same Missal on pp. 215 (*In hujus ergo honore*); 225 (*Hunc igitur*); 358 (*Nos igitur*); 490 (*Hic igitur*); 507 (*Vide igitur*); 654 (*Unde quia . . . te quesumus*). Compare also: "*Nunc igitur . . . te Deus Pater exprociemus et rogamus*," p. 370 (in a *Post Sanctus*); and "*Proinde te Deus Pater rogamus*," p. 382 (also in a *P.S.*).

Deus ut hujus creaturæ pinguedinem Sanctificare tua benedictione digneris.

And in the Preface sung at the blessing of the Paschal candle, we find, in the Gelasian Sacramentary, sections commencing with :

Magnum *igitur* mysterium Ad hujus *ergo* festivitatis reverentiam Cum *igitur* hujus substantiæ. . . . Talia *igitur* Domine munera offeruntur.

While in the possibly not less ancient form of the same Preface which the Roman and Ambrosian Missals have in common with the Gallican sacramentaries, we find the following :

Hæc *igitur* nox est Hujus *igitur* sanctificatio noctis. . . . In hujus *igitur* noctis gratia Precamur *ergo* Domine. . . .

Now I am very far from saying that the foregoing instances provide an adequate basis for a certain conclusion, but they do, I think, make it at least highly probable that the *Te igitur* and *Hanc igitur* of the Roman Canon are to be regarded as having originated in the transfer of *igitur* clauses from the Preface, and in their promotion, so to speak, to the status of independent prayers.

So much, then, for the first part of the Roman Canon in its relation to the early Gallican Liturgy. A full discussion of the Hispano-Gallican *Post Secreta*, *Post Mysterium*, or *Post Pridie* in relation to the second portion of the Canon is beyond my power. It is a subject which I would venture to hope that Dr. Probst or Father Bæumer or Father Morin may some day take up and elucidate. In the meanwhile, however, this much must be said : Following out the principle that what is common to all the liturgies of the East, Rome must once have had, it can hardly be doubted that the words of consecration in the Roman rite were originally followed by an *Anamnesis* or Commemoration of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord (still faithfully preserved in the prayer *Unde et memores*), and this in turn by an *Epiclesis* or invocation of the Holy Spirit on the consecrated *oblata*.

The latter prayer, however—probably on account of the dogmatic errors which it so readily gave occasion—has been omitted from the Roman Canon, or rather has been so

transformed as to leave but a bare trace of its existence in a single clause of the prayer *Supplices te rogamus*. When then we find that the Gallican *Post Secreta* or *Post Mysterium* and the Mozarabic *Post Prædic* in their fuller forms consist of an *Anamnensis* and *Epiklesis* fused into a single prayer (which is, I believe, nowhere the case in the Eastern Liturgies), so far from finding in this circumstance a proof that the Gallican Liturgy owed its origin directly to the East, and perhaps to Ephesus, we ought rather to recognise here a fresh point of contact with the Roman rite. For the Ambrosian treatise *De Sacramentis* exhibits, as has already been seen, in place of the Roman prayers, *Unde et memores*, *Supra quæ*, and *Supplices*, a single continuous *Post Prædic*.

There yet remains, however, one important difference between the Roman and the Gallican rite which it would be unpardonable to pass over in silence. I refer to the position of the *Pax*, which, as the title of the *Collectio ad Pacem* sufficiently attests, had its place in the Gallican as in the Eastern Liturgies, before the Preface. And this position of the *Pax* is one of the chief grounds on which a distinctively Eastern rather than a Roman origin is claimed for the Hispano-Gallican Liturgy. The argument, however, can hardly be regarded as conclusive, unless it can be shown that the present position of the *Pax* in the Roman Mass has come down from primitive times. Otherwise the presumption will be that in this particular, as in other like cases, the Roman Mass in its original form agreed in the succession of its parts with the common usage of all other Liturgies without exception. But again we have more than a *priori* presumption to guide us here. For, as Dr. Probst has pointed out, herein correcting Mone, the testimony of Tertullian is to the effect that in his time the *Pax* was given immediately after the *Oratio fidelium* and therefore before the Preface.* And a conjecture may perhaps be hazarded as to the reason of the change. In primitive times the Kiss of Peace was a sign of Christian fellowship, which had its natural place immediately after the dismissal of those who were as yet, or for the time, excluded from that fellowship. But when the solemn dismissal of the catechumens began to fall into disuse, it was

* *Liturgie*, p. 373-4.

not unnatural to bring this rite into closer connection with the reception of that all-holy Sacrament which is the strongest bond of Christian unity. This explanation of the matter, however, I put forth only tentatively and with great hesitation, for there are serious difficulties in the way of ascribing the change in the position of the Kiss of Peace to so late a date as this hypothesis would imply.*

We are at any rate on safer ground when we observe that already in the Clementine Liturgy, we find the salutation. Ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ εἴη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν, ("Pax Dei sit cum omnibus vobis"), precisely in the position of the later Roman *Pax*, though of course the Kiss of Peace had been given before the Preface. And if we assume with Archdeacon Venables that "it is not at all probable that in primitive times the usage of the Occidental was different from that of the Oriental Church in this point," and if we further accept Dr. Probst's interpretation of the positive testimony of Tertullian as to the actual fact, then we can hardly regard the transfer of the Kiss of Peace as unconnected with the circumstance that there was already in use before the Communion a form of salutation to which it could naturally attach itself. As in the case of the Commemorations or *Mementos*, so also here, the tendency of early Roman liturgical reform would seem to have been in the direction of shortening all that intervened between the Gospel and the Preface, in order to gather the liturgical service as closely as possible round the central act of Sacrifice, between the *Sanctus* and the Communion.

The intention was expressed in my former paper to give some account of the history of, and reasons for, the final supersession of the Hispano-Gallican rite in Gaul and Spain in the eighth and eleventh centuries respectively. Want of space, however, makes it impossible to do more than merely indicate some few considerations which should be borne in mind by any one who would form a right estimate of the

* Innocent I., in his letter to Decentius, defends the position of the *Pax* before the Communion as *necessaria*, which surely implies that it was already old. He died A.D. 416. It would not, perhaps, be safe to rely on the testimony of St. Augustine, Sermon. ccxxvii., for though the words are explicit enough in placing the *Pax* just before the Communion, the Sermon is by some ascribed to St. Caesarius of Arles, who lived more than a century later (Venables in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 904).

action taken by the Roman Pontiffs in forwarding or urging this liturgical change.

(1) No one who has not carefully examined for himself the early Gallican Sacramentaries can have any adequate idea of the extraordinary want of uniformity which they present. It must be enough to say that out of about 175 Masses which the six Missals (including the Stowe Missal) contain, there are not three which are common to any two of the books. Indeed, it would seem that the only Mass which really had a kind of fixed identity was the *Missa Cottidiana Romensis*, which appears in the Bobbio and in the Stowe Missals, and of which a fragment has survived in the *M. Gothicum*.

(2) Not less remarkable than the want of uniformity among the Gallican books themselves, is the fact that a very large proportion of the variable prayers which they contain are found also in the Roman Sacramentaries, from which even Neale & Forbes admit that they must have been for the most part borrowed. Moreover, with the exception of the fragmentary Reichenau Missal, every one of the other books contains evidence of the occasional use of the Roman Canon, or of portions thereof. Indeed, nothing can be more clear than that long before the time of Pepin and Charlemagne the Roman rite had begun to obtain a firm footing in Gaul.*

Here then was a state of things in the Gallican Church which frequently clamoured for a reform, and what reform could have been more reasonable than to substitute for the unstable and undeveloped liturgical system of Gaul the fixed and clear-cut Roman rite with its fully developed calendar of seasons and festivals?

(3) Nevertheless, nothing can be more clear than that this reform was not thrust upon the Gallican Church, at the close of the eighth century, by the Roman Pontiffs.† The final substitution of the Roman for the old Gallican rite was effected in

* This truth has been recently set forth in the clearest light by Dom S. Bäumer in his excellent tract on the *Sacramentum Gelasianum*, for a copy of which I am indebted to the great kindness of the author. It is a pleasure to find the conclusions at which I had independently arrived entirely confirmed by so learned a writer. It would be impossible here to indicate the fresh evidence by which he proves to demonstration the strong influence of the Roman rite in Gaul in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries.

† Marchesi, *La Liturgia Gallicana* (Rome, 1867), ii. 205 sqq; Bäumer, *Sacr. Gelas.* pp. 49 sqq.

the Frankish kingdom under Pepin and Charles the Great, with the cordial co-operation, indeed, of the Roman Pontiffs—Paul I., Stephen III., and Hadrian I., but by no means at their urgent instance. It is clear from the letters of yet earlier Popes that the Roman See, as in duty bound, was always on the alert lest liturgical vagaries should impair the purity of the faith, always earnestly desirous to reform abuses. But for any trace of an attempt on the part of the Popes to suppress with a high hand the ancient Gallican Liturgy as a whole, we seek in vain. The change, so far as it was due to the direct action of Popes and Kings, seems to have begun with the introduction of the Gregorian chant into Gaul, Paul I. sending books, and Stephen III. some cantors from the Roman *schola*, both at the request of Pepin. Later on we find Hadrian I. sending the Gregorian Sacramentary to Charles, likewise at the request of that monarch. The capitularies of Charles testify to the substitution of the Roman chant for the Gallican under his predecessor; but they make no direct mention of the adoption of the Roman Liturgy as a whole, though they seem to assume that it has in fact been adopted.

(4) It was not until three centuries later that the same substitution was effected in Spain. The history of the suppression of the Mozarabic is a good deal more complicated than that of the Gallican rite, and was more closely bound up with the authoritative settlement of dogmatic questions. The details of the history cannot be given here, and indeed the available information on the subject is defective as to many particulars.* But two points stand out clearly when the documents are dispassionately examined—viz. (a) that the Roman See was ready to defend the cause of the Spanish Liturgy when it was unjustly found fault with on dogmatic grounds; (b) that it was not until the Roman rite had gained a footing in Spain and was supported by a strong party in Aragon and Castile, that Gregory VII. authoritatively urged its universal adoption. It is of course easy to ascribe this action of St. Gregory to “that intolerance of other rites” on the part of Rome, which—in the words of a recent writer—“has so incalculably injured ecclesias-

* The chief authorities are (1) *Regesta Gregorii VII.* in *P.L.* cxlviii.; (2) Pien (Pinus), *De Liturgia Mozarabica* in the *Bollandist Acta* (t. vi. Julii, pp. 1-112); (3) Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. 441-462.

tical antiquity." It would perhaps be wiser, as well as more modest, if only in view of the moderation of earlier Pontiffs, to give even Pope Hildebrand credit for some other motive than a spirit of narrow-minded exclusiveness or tyrannical intolerance. There were, after all, more important interests at stake than the preservation of interesting liturgical relics for the satisfaction of students in centuries to come. We must not judge of the condition of the Spanish Liturgy solely by the Mozarabic Missal in the form in which it has come down to us from the time of Cardinal Ximenes. Had such a Missal been in universal use in Spain, we may confidently assume that St. Gregory VII. would have left it in undisturbed possession. But liturgical chaos was quite another matter. And were we in possession of all the circumstances we should probably find ourselves compelled to admit that for this state of chaos the adoption of the Roman rite was the only remedy. How far from the mind of the Roman See is the indiscriminating suppression of "other rites" may be gathered from the measures taken by Pius IX. and by Leo XIII. for the preservation of the local liturgical usages of the Basilian monastery of Grotta Ferrata, hardly a dozen miles from Rome.

HERBERT LUCAS, S.J.

ART. VIII.—TOWN FOGS: THEIR AMELIORATION AND PREVENTION.

THERE can be no doubt that of late the public mind has been considering the subject of town fogs more intently than it has ever done before. And there is reason for discontent. The anticyclonic winter of 1890-91, affording most favourable meteorological conditions for the formation of fog, showed Londoners to what dimensions the smoke evil has attained, and how by yearly increasing the sources of air pollution we have made our great metropolis almost unfit for human habitation when certain states of weather prevail. Added to the memorable winter of 1890-91, there was the notorious fog of December 1891, which enveloped London for the whole week before Christmas Day, without an hour's intermission, stopping both locomotion and business in what generally is the busiest week in the year. This fog culminated on Christmas Day in darkest gloom, accompanied by the phenomenal silver thaw, which rendered it almost impossible to walk a hundred yards without danger to limb. It was then that the pent-up public disgust exploded, and for some weeks afterwards the columns of the daily press were filled with letters of complaint, and suggestions for the remedy for what has become a national evil. The question arises, can our town fogs be prevented or even ameliorated? The object of the present article is the endeavour to offer some suggestions on this question. But, before considering specially the smoke type of fog which envelops our large cities, it will be necessary for a few moments to consider the cause of fogs generally.

Fogs, mists, and clouds are the same phenomenon. A cloud is simply a fog in the air, or, to put it the other way about, a fog is a cloud on the ground. The phenomenon is caused by the condensation of invisible aqueous vapour into visible particles of water. A mist is simply a modified degree of fog. It is sometimes extremely difficult for a meteorological recorder to decide whether he is to describe what he sees as fog or mist. This fact was discussed at a recent meeting of the

Royal Meteorological Society, and attempts were made to define fog and mist without much conclusion being arrived at as to where the border-line exists. As any fixing of the border-line must be arbitrary, it might perhaps be simpler for the purposes of scientific record if the term fog alone was used with epithets of slight, moderate, thick, or so forth. The cause of condensation of moisture is twofold. (1) There must be the presence of floating matter in the air to form nuclei for the precipitation of moisture. This is often in the form of dust in the solid state, but the matter may be liquid, or even gaseous. (2) There must be a sufficiently low temperature. Until comparatively lately it was thought that temperature alone was the determining feature of the precipitation of moisture from a saturated atmosphere, but the brilliant investigations of Mr. Aitkin in 1880 showed conclusively that it is the omnipresent dust particles that are the determining cause, and that without their presence there could be no clouds, no rain, no mists, and no fogs. The latest investigations seem to show that some forms of dust have such an affinity for water that they are able to separate it out of an atmosphere that is not completely saturated. Under ordinary circumstances, the floating matter of the air is invisible, but it is revealed to us under a brilliant beam of light. When a beam of light is cast from an oxyhydrogen or electric lantern in a darkened room, or when a beam of sunlight penetrates through a small opening into a dark place, the path of the beam reveals the floating dust particles, or rather they reveal the light, since without these solid particles to reflect and scatter the light, it would be invisible to us. If we observe the larger particles closely, we see that they are being borne hither and thither by the various air currents; some are rising, others falling. A short while ago the London public had an opportunity of realising the amount of dust which exists in the London atmosphere, even under the best conditions of weather. On the evening of the recent Royal wedding, a favourite method of illumination was the electric search-light, which from the top of large buildings radiated its gigantic beam in all directions. The very brilliancy of the silver tract showed the density of the dust particles in London air. The dust of large cities is rich in its variety: there are particles of

organic matter, such as bits of hair, bits of skin; then there is inorganic matter, bits of iron, bits of coal, bits of the pavements of the streets, and millions of other substances. Mr. Aitkin has recently carried his investigations concerning the dust of the air so far that he has arrived at the possibility of counting the dust particles. In a cubic inch of air in Glasgow, Mr. Aitkin found no fewer than 7,500,000 dust particles, whereas at Lucerne he found only 31,000.

Since the floating dust is at the root of fog, some may think that the ideal to be aimed at is the removal of all dust from the air. But to strive for such an end would be folly. There is an old Aristotelian maxim that excess and defect in anything is wrong, but that the mean is right. We can apply this golden rule to the dust of the air. Modern civilisation has produced a harmful excess of what in moderate proportions is necessary for the welfare of mankind. From millions of chimneys, we so feed the fog with the fuel of its existence that it becomes the yellow and black pall with which we are so familiar. The imperfect combustion of coal in our grates is at the bottom of much of the mischief. The air is loaded with solid particles of unburnt carbon. It is owing to the presence of the carbon particles that fogs sometimes become black, but an all-important factor of our dense town fogs are the sulphur compounds, produced also by the combustion of coal which contains sulphur. A town fog is therefore not only denser than a country fog because there is a quantity of smoke lingering about in the air, but because these products of combustion form excellent nuclei for the condensation of vapour. I was struck with the appearance of fog formation at Brighton on an autumn afternoon. There was a thick fog at sea which penetrated a little way into the town. Wherever there were large buildings belching forth smoke, such as the Métropole Hotel, there was fog of the dusky smoke type localised, quite distinct in appearance from the white sea fog. In London air there is also an excess of ammonia, which is an active fog producer. This comes from the decomposition of organic matters in our dustbins, and from the manure in our streets and stables. But a deficiency of dust in the air would cause as disastrous a condition of things as the excess. Fortunately, nature provides quantities of floating dust in the salt of the

sea which possesses a special affinity for the water particles, and is one of the chief factors of the formation of clouds. Dr. Russell, in his address on town fogs at the recent Hygienic Congress, reminded his audience of Mr. Aitkin's description of a cloudless atmosphere. Having no suspended fogs and no moderated accession of moisture in the form of rain, whenever the air was supersaturated with moisture we should be well-nigh drowned with the condensation on every available object. Another undesirable effect of the removal of all dust from the air would be the alteration of the colour of the sky. Instead of being blue it would be nearly black, as the blue tint of the sky is almost entirely due to minute particles of dust, which on account of their minuteness reflect and scatter the shorter waves of light which produce the violet and blue colours. The golden tints of sunset are also due to the dust of the air. As the sun sets it is viewed through an increasing thickness of air, and becomes yellow, orange, or red, according as the atmospheric dust particles are more or less numerous.

As long as there is any dust in the air, there will always be natural fog in London. The city is so situated in the valley of the Thames that its position is favourable for its production. Dr. Marcet, in a paper read before the Royal Meteorological Society in 1889, points out this fact very aptly. London lying in the Thames valley, is surrounded by hills. To the north there is Highgate, Hampstead, and Harrow. In a westerly direction, Putney and Wimbledon; and in a southerly direction, Clapham and Sydenham. Air on the top of the hills is naturally colder than the air on the plains, therefore, being heavier than the warmer air below, it slides down the slopes of the hills towards the town and river. If the air in London is at the point of saturation, and the cold air from above saturated with vapour, the mixture of the masses of air produces a precipitation, and consequently a fog. If there is a fog on the hill-tops, the fog below will be all the greater. It is not of natural fog we have to complain, for it has its use. To quote the words of Dr. Marcet, "A fog undoubtedly protects the earth from loss of heat. Autumn and winter fogs thus exert a most beneficial effect, being productive of a slow transition from autumn to winter. It is with that type of fog for which man is responsible that we must quarrel. Smoke and other

products of combustion we must eliminate from the atmosphere, if we have any care for the health of our citizens. In 1887-88 some interesting optical observations were taken to test the general thickness and density of London air during the winter months—viz., November, December, January, February, and March. Primrose Hill was selected as an elevated position to measure from. Four lines embracing various measuring points were taken. Three of these were taken over London: the south-west line to St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, the south line to the Clock Tower, Houses of Parliament, the south-east line to St. Paul's Cathedral. The fourth line was taken towards the country as far as St. John's Church, Hampstead. Between the alternate measuring points were various intermediate points, such as church towers and spires. During 152 days of observation, St. Mary Abbots, the Houses of Parliament, and St. Paul's Cathedral were never once seen from Primrose Hill. St. John's Church, Hampstead, was seen several times, though in January that was only seen twice. On nine days it was not possible to see an object at a hundred yards, on four days at five yards. The season 1887-88 in which these observations were taken was fairly free from fog, there being only twenty days of fog registered in that season. In some seasons the number of fogs have much exceeded that number. For instance, in the winter of 1890-91 there were fifty days of fog registered.

It may be well to point out some of the evils attendant upon our town fogs. First, to consider their effects upon health. (1) They produce absence not only of direct sunlight, but even of diffused daylight. The medical profession are now unanimous in their opinion as to the value of the actinic rays for the health of both mind and body. They purify, they destroy organic poison, they stimulate the vitality of the human system. Such being the case, it is quite terrible to contemplate the fact that in December 1890 the amount of direct sunlight that was registered at a station in the heart of the City of London, Bunhill Row, is represented by 0.1. The sanitary importance of light is borne out by recent experiments of Dr. Buchner, which show most conclusively that light is inimical to the propagation of the microbes of disease, its absence favourable. He subjected various kinds of disease

germs, placed in water in flasks, to the action of both direct sunlight and diffused daylight. In one experiment the water in the vessel was literally swarming with germs of a particular kind, but after one hour's exposure to the direct sunlight there was not a trace of germ life left in the vessel. When the vessels were exposed to ordinary diffused daylight there was a decrease of germ life, though not complete destruction. To prove that absence of light favours the growth of microbes, Dr. Buchner in each experiment provided a duplicate flask containing exactly the same kind of germ. This he covered with blackened paper. The microbes in these flasks, instead of disappearing or diminishing, slightly increased in the same period of time. It is not only of sunshine but even of daylight we are largely deprived in our dreary winters. The effect of continued day darkness on the human system approaches to that on the plant kept away from the daylight. The latter rapidly becomes sickly and invigorated, and so does the light-deprived human frame lose its vitality, and when the spring east wind—our national breeze—arrives, it finds its victims out. (2) During town fogs the atmosphere is polluted very much above the normal. As we have seen, the air is charged with solid particles of carbon and the fumes of sulphur. This fact alone is the cause of illness to thousands. Those who suffer from diseases of the respiratory organs are the chief sufferers from these products of combustion, but the effect upon all is irritating and unpleasant. There is also in dense fogs an abnormal quantity of the chlorates as well as the sulphates.

But the greatest evil which accompanies town fogs, and one that must be disastrous to the health of both delicate and strong persons, is an excessive presence of carbonic acid gas, which is a virulent poison when breathed into the system. During dense fogs the process of the diffusion of gases in the air is hindered, and carbonic acid gas accumulates. According to Dr. Russell the normal amount of carbonic acid in the London air is four volumes per 10,000 volumes. During a dense fog he found that it increased to 14.1 volumes. This may be thought a trifling amount, but it is not, considering how virulent a poison carbonic acid gas is. A small excess of prussic acid or strychnine in a medicinal mixture may be

attended with disastrous consequences, so a little more or less of carbonic acid in the air makes all the difference to the health of the population. In dense fogs we suffer from drowsiness, headache, oppression—we are, in fact, partially asphyxiated by the carbonic acid gas.

During town fogs the death-rate increases. Dr. Russell attributes this fact rather to the fall of temperature which accompanies fogs than to the fogs themselves. He says he has noticed cases when fogs have been unaccompanied by a fall of temperature, and under these circumstances the death-rate has been below the average. But it would seem that even if Dr. Russell's opinion is correct, the immediate death-rate is not a test of the mortality produced by fogs. It would be a difficult matter to discover how much of the general death-rate is produced by fogs, but it would not be unreasonable to estimate it at a large figure. It is not only animals that suffer from the effects of town fogs. It is now generally recognised by those who have the care of large conservatories and botanical collections that they exert a destructive action on plant life. After a few days of dense fogs the leaves and blossoms of some plants fall off, the blossoms of others are crimped, others turn black. To pass from the injury to health to other disadvantages produced by town fogs: they cause general inconvenience, paralysing business and locomotion. Until quite lately some trades were entirely at the mercy of fog. The London photographer could only reckon upon a small number of days in December and January on which successful portraits could be taken. It is true that the practicability of the electric light has helped him out of this difficulty, though at considerable cost. The same artificial light has been lately applied to the ferro-prussiate process of copying drawings, which is very extensively employed by architects and engineers. Before the use of electricity this industry depended absolutely on a clear atmosphere. According to statistics furnished by Mr. Hargreaves Raffles, in an article published in *Nature* in December 1890, out of eighteen days in December 1889, there were nine days on which no copy could be taken owing to the darkness of the atmosphere. The heavy cost of foggy weather to the public is borne out by the fact that during the fog that occurred between the 16th and 24th November 1889, the Gas

Light and Coke Company alone sent out 710,251,000 cubic feet of gas. Its production required 71,000 tons of coal. The cost of this amount of gas represents £106,000. During nine days, therefore, the gas company mentioned were making £490 per hour.

Mr. Wyke Bayliss, in an address lately delivered at the Society of Arts, pointed out that the existence of a polluted atmosphere in our great cities is a hindrance to the adornment and beautifying of the public buildings by the works of art. The true artist strives to produce works that will last. What work of art exposed to the London atmosphere will endure for the admiration of posterity? What use is there in adorning architecture with delicate tracery, or in filling niches with statues, if in a few years the work is unrecognisable, being choked with filth? It is foolishness to expose fine paintings or mosaics to a malignant atmosphere that covers everything with greasy slime. Therefore our large cities are doomed to remain ugly and materialistic, mere emblems of the modern routine of money-mongering. Mr. Bayliss, as an example of the ravages of a fog atmosphere on the monuments of ancient art, points to Westminster Abbey. "People pass and repass and know not that the grimy objects that fill the niches of the Abbey are amongst the loveliest of the sculptures that the world has ever seen."

It seems evident that, as far as London is concerned, the fog evil is on the increase. Mr. Brodie has furnished the Royal Meteorological Society with statistics which show that there has been a steady increase in the number of fogs during the last twenty years. He groups the winters of the last twenty years from 1871-90 into periods of five years, and finds that in the first period the mean number of fogs was 19, in the second 24, in the third 26, in the fourth 31.

As regards the possible amelioration of the smoke evil, there are scientists who urge the immediate abolition of coal fires. Such a course is open to considerable objection. A radiating source of heat is surely for the spirits alone a physical need in our island, which is dull and misty during the winter months at the best of times. It is a different matter in southern regions where there is a perennial sun to warm, exhilarate and cheer. But a radiating source of heat has

other advantages besides its brightness. While it warms all objects in the room, our bodies, the walls, the furniture, it does not heat the air of the room, so that while we feel warm we are breathing a cool, well oxygenated, and consequently exhilarating atmosphere. For this reason the other various non-radiating sources of heat cannot be advocated, such as closed stoves and hot-water pipes, which produce exactly the opposite effects, extracting the heat from our bodies and affording a close air with insufficient oxygen, excepting with the aid of elaborate and expensive precautions. A gas fire has many advocates. It is true that when properly regulated it does not supply carbon particles to blacken the fog, though it gives off sulphur compounds, which, as has been stated above, form so good a nuclei for fog formation. But personally I do not urge the merits of the gas fire for general heating purposes. It is said by some that the fumes from gas fires can be conducted away, but it is doubtful whether there is a gas stove in existence that is entirely satisfactory in this respect. The popular practice of cooking food over open gas fires should be strongly deprecated. Take the familiar case of an overdone mutton chop being grilled over one of the open gas fires in a restaurant. Its surface approaches to a state of animal carbon, which has great powers of absorption. During its cooking the chop therefore absorbs the poisonous products of gas combustion. Many persons advocate smokeless coal, but, according to Sir Douglas Galton, smokeless coal is open to objections. In a lecture which he delivered at the Parkes Museum of Hygiene, in 1887, he says :

An open fire of smokeless coal, although it may have a glow, is not generally such a cheerful fire as a fire of bituminous coal, and without care and a rapid draught, which is rarely attainable in the existing open fireplaces, carbonic oxide is liable to be formed and to come into the room. I do not, therefore, believe in the advantages of the use of smokeless coal in an ordinary open fireplace. If we are to use it in our rooms, we must have some form of a close stove.

It seems that the most efficient immediate remedy for diminishing smoke is to apply scientific principles to not only factory furnaces, but also to the domestic open grate. The smoke abatement movement has been a step in the right direction, and if it has not yet done much it is because the

public have not until lately been sufficiently aroused to wish for amelioration. With the desire for improvement, invention would be further stimulated and legislation brought about. We want a more general and strict legal enforcement in factories of the principles embodied with so much success in mechanical stokers. For the private dwelling-house we want legislation. Might it not enforce from a certain date the use of a grate of an approved form in all new buildings? Legislation might perhaps prohibit the future sale of unscientific grates, so that in time the faulty grates would be replaced. Such an enactment would in no way bear hardly on the leaseholder, and the initial expense to the landlord need not be any heavier than it now is. The vital principles in a smoke-consuming grate are the regulation of air and the heating of the utmost of the passing smoke, so as to consume the carbon. The majority of domestic fire-grates in use are conspicuous for the absence of scientific principles in their construction, being merely what will just do to contain a fire, regardless of economy of fuel, heating capacity, and reduction of smoke and soot. And yet nearly 100 years ago Count Rumford laid down the principles upon which a fire-grate should be made. No one has done more than Mr. Pridgin Teale to call the attention of the public to these forgotten injunctions, and the fireplaces of his device are practically the embodiment of Count Rumford's rules which have been violated in the grates in use. One of the most important principles taught by Count Rumford is the reduction of iron to a minimum. This principle is fully carried out in Mr. Pridgin Teale's grates, in which the back and sides of the fireplace are of fire-brick. The only parts where iron is retained is the grid on which the fire rests and the vertical bars. As Mr. Pridgin Teale said in an address delivered to the members of the Architectural Society in 1886, brick retains, stores, and accumulates heat. It radiates it back into the room, and keeps the fuel hot. Iron lets heat slip through it up the chimney, gives very little back to the room, and chills the fuel. Another feature in Mr. Pridgin Teale's grates is that the fire-brick back leans over the fire, not away from it, as is usually the case. This point was also insisted on by Count Rumford. The lean-over enables the fire-brick back to absorb heat from the rising flame, otherwise

lost up the chimney, and the increased temperature accumulated in the fire-brick raises the temperature of the gases to combustion point. These gases would otherwise pass up the chimney and be lost. When the lean-over system is adopted it is necessary that the bottom of the fire, or grid, should be deep from before backwards, probably not less than nine inches for a small room, nor more than eleven inches for a large room. The inclination of the lean-over at the back should be an angle of 70 degrees. In Mr. Pridgin Teale's grates the sides of the fireplace are inclined to one another as the sides of an equilateral triangle, so that the heat from them may be radiated not from one to the other and then up the chimney, as happens if they are parallel to each other, but out into the room. Another important feature of this system is the shield or economiser which closes the chamber beneath the grate. This arrangement keeps up the heat of the chamber beneath the fire, and causes the ashes at the bottom of the fire to retain their combustion-point until reduced to a fine ash. It is claimed that the combustion of the cinders goes on even when they are in contact with the bars of the grate, which are kept hot by the economiser. As regards the advantages of such a grate, besides securing an economy of coal and of labour, the prevention of dust, an increase of warmth, and little need of attention, it undoubtedly yields to the atmosphere much less soot and smoke than the clumsy, unscientific, and wasteful arrangements that are in vogue. It is evident that if such a grate as Count Rumford suggested nearly a century ago was universally used in the metropolis, the intensity of fog would be lessened, and the plague of darkness mitigated.

Some remarkable experiments illustrating the coagulating power of electrical discharges were shown in a paper read before the members of the Royal Institution by Professor Oliver Lodge. The professor filled bell jars with dense smoke, and then discharged electricity into them from a point connected with a Winshurst machine which was connected with the ground. In a second or two aggregation of the smoke particles set in, they formed in masses or flakes along the lines of force, and in an instant the jars were cleared of smoke, it having been all condensed on the sides and floor of the vessels.

The success of this lecture-table demonstration has suggested that it might be interesting to extend the experiments to a real smoke fog in an unconfined space, and there is no reason why such an experiment should not be tried on a large scale; for instance, a captive balloon might be sent up to discharge a large quantity of high-pressure electricity in the air. It is the expense of such experiments which debars certain scientists from putting the matter to a practical test. Even if smoke fog could not be thus deposited in the open, it might be possible to deposite it indoors, and an electric fog broom may perhaps be a future commodity, and one that would be welcome, since fog lurks about our apartments and inside public buildings long after the external atmosphere has cleared. In theatres during a thick fog, and for some hours after, it is well-nigh impossible for the occupants of the gallery to see the stage. Such an apparatus might be invaluable in the case of green-houses and conservatories. The expense of the remedy would not be considered if it should be the means of preserving the life of a rare plant in a public collection.

However perfect we make our smoke-consuming grates, there will still be left those other products of combustion, the sulphur compounds, and our town fogs will after all be only ameliorated, not prevented, as long as the combustion of coal is our source of heat. To what source must we look if we wish to utterly annihilate town fog? It is surely to electricity. It is electric energy produced by such natural sources of energy as water-falls, the ebb and flow of the tide, and even the wind, and applied as a source of heat, that will one day solve the question. As we should then have heat without combustion, we should enjoy a clear and healthy atmosphere in our cities. The employment of electricity would afford us the bright and radiating source of heat so essential to our comfort. As a matter of fact, electric fires would be dark or bright according to requirements.

It may be thought that these suggestions are a mere utopian vision, but if we glance at the past history of practical electricity need they be regarded as such? Where were the large and powerful currents of electricity we now handle in 1879, only fifteen years ago? They were nowhere. At that time the electric light was merely a laboratory experiment,

produced at cost and trouble. Who would then have predicted that to-day almost every new public building sparkles with the incandescent electric lamp? Who would then have supposed that passengers now every day travel in the metropolis in an electric railway, as a matter of course? Who would have dreamt that the Channel would have been already crossed by an electric boat? And at that time should we not have been equally surprised to hear that at the Frankfort Electrical Exhibition of 1891, one thousand of the electric lamps would be fed by the electrically transmitted energy of a stream a hundred miles away from Frankfort, and that at the present moment the long wasted forces of Niagara are being harnessed to the dynamo and motor? In 1879, perhaps, we should have smiled at so extravagant a proposition as the idea of cooking by electricity, yet at the late Crystal Palace Electric Exhibition, one of the chief attractions was the cooking by electricity, when saucepans and other utensils were exhibited in which the source of heat was self-contained, and in which pancakes and other eatables were cooked in a manner which seemed magical to the uninitiated. Such was the perfection of the electric heating apparatus that a public dinner was served in which everything was cooked by the subtle agent.

With such a picture of rapid progress before us, it is not folly to have confidence in the ultimate development of electrical resources. With such hopes in view, let us sit no longer indifferent in darkness, but rather let us add our approving voices to every effort that may hasten the advance into those electrical regions wherein we shall find the talisman that will dispel the gloom.

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ART. IX.—MASHUNALAND AND ITS NEIGHBOURS.

1. *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa.* By F. C. SELOUS, C.M.Z.S. London : Rowland, Ward & Co. 1893.
2. *Report on the Railway Route from Beira to Mashunaland.* By W. P. HUSSEY-WALSH, Foreign Office. 1893.

THE recent crisis in South African history was one of those moments when events, suddenly become plastic under the white heat of some outburst of national excitement, may be so bent and moulded as to determine their future development. The strong hand that can seize and master destiny in these, her passing phases of irresolution, may shape her to its ends and touch the springs that set the order of the coming time.

The British Colonies grouped round the Cape of Good Hope have, until the last decade, shown little of the expansive, and assimilative energy that form the national dowry of the English race. Capetown itself has, indeed, the stamp of an Anglo-Saxon metropolis, rendering the voyage thither a unique experience. From the Thames to Table Bay the traveller carries all his English surroundings in the great steamer which is like a moving fragment of his home, to land in what is practically another England, growing in the image of the mother country across six thousand miles of sea. But this process of transformation has hitherto stopped at the slopes of Table Mountain, and the city at its foot has only within the last decade been roused to consciousness of her opportunity as the future capital of a vast dominion. Now, with her dream,

Of Empire to the northward,
All one land, from Lion's Head to Line,

has come to her at last the vivifying force which makes the pulses of her citizens throb to the heart-beats of a nation.

This sudden stirring of a larger life emanated, as is usual in the case of such movements of popular sentiment, from a single brain. Mr. Cecil Rhodes, sprung from the ranks of private

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citizenship to the leadership of the powerful southern colony, is making history faster than any man of his generation, and is great with the greatness of those who can breathe a living purpose into the uninformed clay of the human masses. From his masterful nature came the impulse which has welded the heterogeneous population of the South African dependencies into a living organism, and carried the British flag at one stride across a thousand miles of desert from the Limpopo to the Zambesi.

There a splendid territory, cleared of its inhabitants by the fiery surges of Zulu conquest, was awaiting occupation and development. No rights were violated by the British advance, save the right of unrestrained rapine and massacre claimed by the savage exterminators of the former population. Thus the white man has here a territory as large as France, and with further possibilities of extension, thrown open to him free from all existing rights of occupancy.

A glance at the map accompanying Mr. Selous's volume will explain its capabilities, though lying within the southern tropic, as a field for European colonisation. For here the continent, rising in a series of abrupt slopes from the torrid lowlands skirting the Indian Ocean, forms an extensive system of elevation. Of very irregular outline, with its longer axis running from south-west to north-east, this topmost terrace of South Africa lies at its lowest parts, higher than the summit of Helvellyn, and rises at its highest to nearly double that altitude. Hence it has a climate that may be fairly called temperate, refreshed by constant breezes from the Indian Ocean, and varied by nights always cool, and sometimes bitterly cold. The thermometer rarely rises above 84° or falls below 40° Fahrenheit, and the extreme range hitherto registered at Fort Salisbury is from 93° to 34° . Thus, while tobacco, cotton, and rice are grown by the natives in the valleys, European fruits and vegetables flourish on the higher ground to within 18° of the Line.

From this central watershed the streams run north, south, east, and west to the Zambesi and its tributaries on one side, and to the rivers flowing into the Indian Ocean on the other.

To all its other capabilities this great new southern dominion adds, like the older Australia, the possession of that mineral

wealth which is the main incentive to rapid white colonisation. Already 400 miles of auriferous reef have been pegged out by enterprising settlers, and when the mines of the Mazoe River, the Hartley Drift, and other as yet unexplored centres, are once fairly rendered accessible by improved transport, we may perhaps see such a talismanic transformation as raised Melbourne and Sydney in a single generation from the raw townships of a remote colony to the foremost rank among great cities.

The history of Mashunaland from the earliest ages has always been determined by its possession of gold in conspicuous quantities, and the massive ruins that stud its surface, with their monuments of the worship of a forgotten people, are but the fortified mining camps of its prehistoric diggers. Mr. Selous, not alone the Nimrod of the veldt, but the pioneer of empire over the plains where he tracked the eland and the elephant, differs from Mr. Bent and other theorists in his view of this race of stone-builders in a land of beehive huts. While accepting the conclusion that they were probably Semites from Southern Arabia, who derived hence the main supply of gold for the ancient world, he believes they were much less highly civilised than has been hitherto assumed, basing his contention on the rudeness of their architecture and the absence of any evidence of their knowledge of letters. Neither does he admit the conjecture of their ultimate expulsion from the country, but rather holds them to have been gradually absorbed in the native stock after generations of intermarriage, thus introducing that higher type of feature and lighter tinge of colour still so frequently met with among the Kafirs south of the Zambesi. In support of this contention, he adduces the fact that the practice among the latter of enclosing their kraals with walls of masonry has only died out within a generation or two, in fact, contemporaneously with the Zulu conquest, and that gold mining, the traditional industry of the prehistoric builders, was actively carried on by them at even a later date. The comparative freshness of the timber props in some of the shafts, the presence of a bark bucket and rope, though of perishable material, at the bottom of one 120 feet deep, and the unweathered aspect of the heaps of rubbish thrown up, are almost convincing on this point. We have, moreover, the

evidence of Mr. Baines, who found the Mashunas extracting gold from quartz by crushing and roasting as late as 1870, the metal being melted in crucibles exactly as it was by the inhabitants of Zimbabwe thousands of years ago, and as copper is by some of the industrious natives at the present day. The persistence of Arab rule down to the sixteenth century is attested by Portuguese records, as the first travellers of that nation described the interior as inhabited by native tribes governed by Moors or Arabs, who called their subjects Kafirs, or unbelievers. Such a State was doubtless the half-legendary kingdom of Monomotapa, rich in gold, powerful in arms, and comprising all the region lying between the Sabi and the Zambesi. Here on Passion Sunday, March 18, 1560, was martyred Father Gonzalez Silveira, a Portuguese Jesuit, after a temporary success in converting the king and numbers of the inhabitants. The blood of this precursor of Christianity may be said to have consecrated the land in which he perished to his Order, who have now entered on his inheritance in the enterprise of its evangelisation.

The history of the ruins was in his time utterly obliterated, and the worship to which they were dedicated abandoned. The tradition of sanctity, however, still clung to them, for we learn from an interesting article by Captain Haynes, R.E., in Vol. 3 of the *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*, that the king of Quiteve had a residence at Zimboe or Zimbabwe, to which he and his court repaired at the new moon of November, to propitiate the Muzimos or spirits of departed kings buried there, a ghostly impersonation of whom was supposed to appear and confer with him at the close of the ceremonies.

The Portuguese attempts to seize and work the gold-fields resulted in failure, despite the despatch by General Francisco de Barreto, appointed in 1569 Governor of Eastern Ethiopia, with the title of Conqueror of the Mines, of several costly expeditions for the purpose. Using camels for the transport of guns and machinery, they succeeded in reaching the mines only to find that the gold, which they had been told grew on trees, was obtained with great toil and labour by digging. The enterprise was finally abandoned, and they contented themselves thenceforward with trading with the natives for the

precious metal at the established markets, where beads and cotton goods were given in exchange for it. A Resident was appointed to Massapa, now known as Manica, but with the decadence of Portugal her hold on the interior gradually slackened, and all intercourse between it and Europe was broken off for many generations.

The next phase in its history was the Zulu conquest, that sanguinary chapter in the epic of barbarism. This race rose to predominance when Chaka, in the early part of the century, welded his savage horde into an organisation of ferocity. His authority was, however, resisted by a rival captain, Umseligazi, or Moselikatse, who escaping northwards from his power, fell upon the Bechuana tribes then peopling the Transvaal, massacred, it is computed, 150,000 of them, incorporated some in his nation as slaves or prisoners, and drove the rest into the Kalahari Desert to lead a miserable existence as starveling nomads of that great Thirst Land. The migration of the Dutch Boers, in 1834, into the country thus cleared of its former inhabitants, brought them into collision with the previous invaders, whom after a prolonged struggle they defeated and drove northward across the Limpopo, or Crocodile River. The peaceful Mashunas and Makalakas were their next victims, and, after an attempt to occupy the Zambesi Valley, thwarted by the ravages of the tsetse fly among their cattle, they finally settled down for organisation on the high veldt in what is now known as Matabeleland. Umseligazi, dying in 1870, handed on his blood-stained sceptre to his son Lobengula, the present ruler, in theory an autocrat, but in fact the slave of custom, stronger than law.

Two other outlying Zulu States were formed in similar fashion by secessions from the horde of Chaka. The rebel chiefs, after devastating northern Mashunaland, encountered each other near the head waters of the Sabi, and the result of a three days' battle was the defeat and flight across the Zambesi of one, who finally settled with his people, the Angoni, on the plateau near Lake Nyassa, to be the scourge down to the present day of the natives of that country. His conqueror, Manicos, seized on the rich lowlands behind the Portuguese littoral, where the State of Gazaland, stretching from the Sabi to the Zambesi, was ruled in succession by his son and grand-

son, Umzila and Gungunyan. Their treatment of the eastern Mashunas has been identical with that of the western tribes by their Matabele kinsfolk, causing the depopulation of large tracts of country where the ruins of deserted kraals and of strongly walled and fortified villages testify to the former presence of a dense and prosperous population. The few and scattered inhabitants that remain have retrograded in every way, and some of the tribes under the immediate shadow of the Gaza impis, have ceased growing corn and raising cattle, substituting a heavily seeding grass for the one and dogs for the other, in order to afford less temptation to the cupidity of their lords.

Gold mining has been abandoned from the same cause, and the Tati district, where a considerable industry had been carried on, as was shown by shafts in the quartz thirty feet deep, was, when visited by Hartley in 1865, inhabited only by a few bushmen. The remnant of the former population now live in villages perched in the most inaccessible positions among the clefts and crags of the granite koppies that stud the veldt, some of them reached only by ladders laid against the face of the cliff. Their diminutive cattle, about $10\frac{1}{2}$ hands high, are stabled in caverns among the rocks, but their crops on the plain are often burned before they can be gathered, by the ruthless destroyers, who play in this part of Africa the same part as the Arab slave hunters north of the Equator.

The Zulus owe their position as an imperial race to the military organisation which they alone of African peoples have perfected, rendering their nation, in the words of a celebrated Prussian statesman, "all sting." The system, based on the scientific culture of ferocity, eliminates all sense of kindness and pity, transforming the Zulus into a highly dangerous breed of human tigers. Lest the softening influences of domestic ties should mitigate their savagery, the warriors are forbidden to marry till past the fighting age, and the display on the part of one of them of even common humanity to a woman, is known to have been punished by death at the hands of his chief. The desired end is thoroughly attained, for the blood fury that seizes on them when on the war-path resembles a demoniac possession, and the Zulu impi, with its cadenced movements, brandished spears, and barbaric bravery of feathers

and fringes, suggests to the imagination rather an army of fiends let loose from the abyss, than a merely human machine of destruction. Nor is it restricted to "washing its spears" in the blood of foreign victims alone, its rage is occasionally whetted by domestic carnage as well. The inhabitants of whole villages are then slaughtered without cause, proscribed families hunted down and put to death *en masse*, or wholesale executions ordered under the plea of witchcraft or some other real or imaginary offence.

"Within the last week or two [says a correspondent, writing in the *Times* of October 14, 1893], several villages of men known as Mapole, or 'the drawers,' have been wiped out of existence by Matabele impis, and that within a day's journey of Buluwayo."

The organisation which enables the small fighting caste of the Matabele Zulus thus to terrorize and enslave their neighbours rests on a territorial basis. The country, as we learn from a report by Lieutenant Maund, published in a Blue-Book in February 1886, is divided into four military districts. The only towns in the kingdom are the military kraals, occupied by and named after the different regiments, each living under the command of its own induna, on the lands and herds assigned to it. As these regimental kraals are moved to fresh localities as soon as the available wood supply or pasture near the old sites is exhausted, which in the case of a large one takes place in about ten years, discrepancies between various geographers as to the position of these so-called towns are easily accounted for. Thus the headquarters of the Inyati regiment is now fifty miles south-east of its former site, and the new Buluwayo eighteen north of the place it occupied in 1882.

The training and discipline to which the Matjaka, or "young braves," are subjected is very strict, until such time as having seen sufficient service they are given their head-rings by the king, when they are termed Madoda, or men, and allowed to marry. Of the ten or twelve regiments formed by the present ruler since his accession in 1870, only three, the Imbizo, Ingubo, and Sugamini, are of pure Zulu blood, the remainder being recruited from the subject races. The former of these is now reduced, by deaths and desertions, from its

original strength of 1000 men to about 700, a ratio which probably prevails through the entire army.

The Matabele nation is itself insignificant in numbers. Even of the country actually occupied by its kraals, a strip about 100 miles long with a breadth of 50, two out of every three inhabitants are slaves, who cultivate the lands and herd the cattle of the dominant race. Many of the serfs escape into the territory of the Chartered Company, and find a safe asylum there, this very fact being one of the main grievances which have brought their owners into collision with the white man. The sentiments with which the latter are regarded by the subject tribes were openly expressed by an old Mashuna, who, according to the *Times* correspondent just quoted, held forth on the question in passing through a mission station in Matabeleland.

The white men [said this Nestor of the veldt] came into our country and bought our corn and cattle, and gave us presents besides of blankets and guns. When you, [turning to the Matabele present] come into our country, you drive off our cattle and kill our men and make slaves of our women and children. We will not belong to you any longer. We will belong to the white men now. For years we have had to build our villages on the rockiest hill-tops, hardly daring to come down into the plain for fear of you. Now that the white man has come into our country we have come down to build our villages in the plain, and we mean to stay there.

Mr. Selous was acquainted with the history of one of the raids of which the aged sufferer from them spoke thus feelingly. This impi, sent out in 1883 to destroy a tribe near the Mazoe River, and thwarted of its prey by the timely flight of its victims, was returning in savage mood with its blood-thirst unslaked, when it passed the kraals of a Mashuna tribe, long before taken under the protection of Lobengula's father, and tributary to the Matabele for years. They wore the dress of their conquerors, spoke their language, and were at the time in charge of large herds of their cattle. There was thus no provocation whatever for the ruthless massacre of these poor slaves, described as follows by the author on the authority of an English-speaking native who had been forced to accompany the Zulu column as a waggon-driver:

When the impi came to Musigaguva, they camped close to the

Mashuna kraals, the inhabitants of which brought down food and beer for the Matabele soldiers, who seemed on very friendly terms with them, they on their side suspecting nothing. On the day of their arrival everything remained quiet, but the following morning the Matabele, acting on the orders of their indunas, suddenly surrounded the different small kraals, and then at once fell on the unsuspecting inhabitants. None were spared, but men, women, and children were ruthlessly slaughtered, many of the infants having been seized by the ankle and their brains dashed out against stones. It was in April 1883 that this cruel massacre took place, and towards the end of the following November, on my way back to Matabeleland, I passed through the country, and, camping out one night among the ruins of the deserted kraals, saw with my own eyes the devastation that had been wrought.

Zulu raids to more distant quarters occasionally end in disaster, as happened in the same year 1883, in the case of two expeditions despatched by Lobengula against the Batauwani of the Lake Ngami district. The enterprise was an unusually daring one, as 400 miles of desert had to be traversed, where game was scarce, water found only in scattered pools, and humanity represented but by some wandering Bushmen. The first party, sent out early in the year, were reduced to sating their inhuman rage on a good many of these unoffending savages, as the people against whom their operations were primarily directed, managed to defend themselves and escape with their wives and children, leaving their town to be burned by the invaders. The second attack on them resulted in a still more crushing disaster to the assailants. The Batauwani, having transported their women, children, and cattle, in canoes across the Zouga River, lay in ambush among the reeds fringing its bank, and from this cover opened a deadly fire on the Matabele, killing the king's brother and several of their leaders. Many more were drowned in trying to cross the stream on a bed of aquatic plants, which gave way under the weight of their numbers, and precipitated them into the water. They were now obliged to undertake a retreat across the desert separating them from home, without supplies of food, as they had captured no cattle, and had brought with them only enough for their consumption on the outward march.

The horrors of that journey [says Mr. Selous] have often been described to me by survivors. A few head of game were shot, and a few

Bushman encampments were looted, but many hundreds of Lobengula's fiercest warriors died from starvation, thirst, and exhaustion on their return from this disastrous expedition. Towards the end of the journey ever-increasing numbers died daily round every pool of water on the line of march. Parched with thirst, and exhausted with starvation and fatigue, they would lie flat down and drink their fill, and day after day numbers, I have been told, died in this position. Only the remnant of the army got back to Matabeleland, and of the fine regiment of the "Intembi," but few survived to tell the tale of their unsuccessful raid to Lake Ngami.

The Matabele forays in another direction have been checked by the consolidation of the Bamangwato kingdom under its great ruler, Khama. This remarkable man, a Wesleyan Christian, has in the eighteen years of his reign abolished polygamy and witch-hunting, established trial by jury, and introduced the use of European clothing, while rigidly excluding spirituous liquors from his dominions. "I fear strong drink more than I do the assegais of the Matabele," he says, with that clear perception of moral evil which is the basis of his strong character. Within the last few years he has moved his capital, Shoshong, a town of 20,000 inhabitants, to Palapye, about fifty miles distant, where a more abundant water supply exists, and better sanitary regulations can be enforced.

Although the Matabele claim over his realm the same rights of sovereignty so ruthlessly exercised in Mashunaland, they no longer venture to assert them in practice, and the Bamangwato have for the last twenty years been exempt from their forays.

Their ancient foeman, Lobengula, who still bears on his neck the mark of Khama's spear, from a wound inflicted in one of their battles, is a monarch of a very opposite type. Although perhaps of a less ferocious disposition than the bulk of his subjects, he is the personification of the system in which their ferocity finds vent. Nor can he be acquitted, even on the plea of State necessity, of more immediate responsibility for many acts of cruelty and oppression committed by his direct orders. Such was the massacre perpetrated on the return of his indunas from a mission to this country, to certify to the existence of the White Queen, and ascertain the view taken here of his concessions to the Chartered Company. On the report by the envoys of interviews with Lord Knutsford and the Aborigines'

Protection Society, the conversation at which was construed as a disavowal of interest in the Company, the Zulu king ordered the execution of the Minister responsible for the step, together with seventy of his following. The butchery, on another occasion, of one of his uncles and all the inhabitants of his kraal, some forty in number, was without even nominal justification. Charges of witchcraft are a fertile source of bloodshed, and the population of entire villages is sometimes exterminated under suspicion of counteracting the royal rain spells during prolonged and obstinate droughts.

White men, on the other hand, he has generally protected, and travellers report his firmness in refusing to sanction the destruction of those settled in his dominions, even when his savage regiments shrieked in chorus for their blood, while performing their frenzied war dances before his kraal.

But circumstances have been too strong for Lobengula, and the inevitable conflict which his sagacity made him shrink from as a disaster, has been forced on him by the passions of his people. In truth, the continuance of the system he represents is no less incompatible with the contiguity of a European community, than that of the slave trade in Equatorial Africa, and the English advent heralded the doom of the Zulu power of destruction.

The incorporation in October 1889 of the British South African Company, and its rapidly executed advance to the basin of the Zambesi, were the means of securing to British rule a territory, which the Portuguese from one quarter and the Boers from another were already preparing to appropriate. The English colonies, hemmed in on the north, would have been deprived of their natural outlet for future expansion, and some immediate step towards securing them from this danger was imperative in their interests. Effective occupation was necessary to give a valid title, and there was not at this time a single resident Englishman in the whole of Mashunaland. Hence the urgency of the Company's immediate advance to the farthest point of the region covered by its Charter, in order to secure the right of pre-emption over the entire area.

A serious obstacle to its northward march lay in the fact that the only road in this direction passed through Lobengula's kraal, and communications would thus be liable to interruption

at his caprice. This difficulty was surmounted by a plan suggested by Mr. Selous, familiar with the country from ten years of adventurous travel, and executed under his personal guidance and supervision. It was to carry the proposed expedition round by a flank march to the east, cutting its own road as it went along, and leaving far on its left not only Buluwayo, but every chief and village owing allegiance to Lobengula. The latter, who had refused to treat for its passage through his territory, declaring that there was but one road to Mashunaland, the one passing through Buluwayo, and that he would not have another made, was in this way completely checkmated.

The preparations went on despite his prohibition, and Mr. Selous was sent, in March 1890, to Khama's capital to survey the road and obtain men for cutting it.

At this time [he tells us] there was not a yard of road made beyond the Macloutsie, the border of British Bechuanaland, and no one but myself had any idea what route the expedition was to take when it did at last make a move. It appears to me that some of the authorities at Capetown did not realise that between Macloutsie camp and Mount Hampden there lay a trackless wilderness of 460 miles in extent, over which a road would have to be found and prepared in advance of the expedition. The idea seemed to be that when everything was ready a trumpet would be blown, and the advance would then be made along known roads, as had been the case from Mafeking to Macloutsie. However, after a conference between Dr. Jameson and Colonel Pennefather, at which I expressed my views, I got leave to at once set about cutting the first piece of new road from Macloutsie camp to the Tuli, a distance of fifty miles. Khama, with his usual courtesy and kindness, gave me twenty picked men to open up the track, and sent with them one of his most trusted headmen, an old friend of mine, named Makamana. By June 10th we had opened up a waggon track to the Tuli, and the first section of the new road to Mashunaland lay ready, waiting for the advance of the expedition.

At the end of the same month, the pioneers, with four troops of the British South Africa Company's Police, advanced along the new track to the Tuli River, while Lobengula, whose ill-defined frontiers the expedition was now approaching, sent envoys to repeat his dictum, that there was no road round his country, and that he would not have one made, intimating at the same time that the white impi might get into difficulties should it cross the Tuli. The white impi disregarded his threats and continued its march, but nearly all its black drivers

and herdsmen deserted through terror of the Matabele king, and without the aid of Khama it would have been sorely crippled in its movements.

From the 200 men despatched by him as auxiliaries under the command of his favourite brother, Mr. Selous organised five sets of scouts which circled round the expedition at regular intervals so as to give notice of any hostile movement along a radius of twenty miles from its route. The advance party, meantime, hurried on the cutting of the track ahead, the road-makers attended each by a mounted man, leading his horse ready saddled and bridled, that he might be able to mount and ride for his life at a moment's notice. This was the most critical part of the march, as it lay here through the low, thickly wooded country, where the small column, some 400 strong, might easily have been destroyed by a determined enemy. Eighty waggons, straggling along a line two miles in length, presented a very vulnerable flank, and their capture would in itself have necessitated the abandonment of the movement.

At this time Matabeleland was thrilling with warlike excitement, but doubt and hesitation paralysed its counsels. The presence of the Bechuanaland Police on its southern border intimidated Lobengula with the idea of a possible invasion from that quarter, while the rapidity with which the column was pushed forward, left him in doubt as to its whereabouts. In a word, he lost his opportunity and allowed it to execute its difficult and dangerous flank march unmolested. The country through which it passed was so complete a wilderness that herds of elephants drank at the fords where it crossed the spruits, and hyenas howled and shrieked round the camp at night. Once the slopes of the Mashuna plateau were scaled all danger of attack would be over, but there was still some doubt as to whether a pass practicable for waggons existed on the line of route. Mr. Selous, exploring some marches ahead, succeeded in discovering one so easy of ascent that it seemed to have been engineered expressly for them, and comparing it with the difficulties presented by the broken country on either side, he called it Providence Pass. On August 13th, the whole expedition encamped close to its head, and on the following day trekked on to the open country where Fort Victoria now stands. Its march thenceforward across the grassy downs

of Mashunaland was an uneventful one, and on September 11th, 1890, the Union Jack was hoisted on Fort Salisbury, and the English frontier staked out right up to the watershed of the Zambesi.

During the following three months the Company's officers were busy making treaties with native chiefs, by which mineral and other concessions were secured. Especial importance was attached to the inclusion within the British zone of the Manica country, as it is geographically an outlying section of the Mashuna plateau, with similar prospects and capabilities. The Portuguese claim to it, founded on the pretension that its ruler Umtasi was a vassal of Gungunyan, who was in his turn a vassal of theirs, has been since abandoned, as both these chiefs repudiate all dependence on Portugal.

While the Company's domain was thus extended and consolidated, the infant settlement of Salisbury passed through a serious crisis in its history within a year of its foundation. All its stores had nearly run out, and the rainy season, when its communications would be cut off, was fast approaching, when the long expected train of 400 waggons, promised by the Company, arrived just in time to save it from imminent starvation. This Ultima Thule of British dominion consists of three separate quarters, the trading centre, with bars, restaurants, a hotel and newspaper office, housed either in daub huts or in more substantial brick structures, the military establishment, where the English flag flies over the fort and Government stores, and the headquarters of the civil administration, near which are the hospital huts in charge of a community of Dominican nuns and a Jesuit Father. The open veldt, variegated at some seasons with lovely flowers, surrounds it on all sides, spreading to the low hills that bound the horizon. Forts Charter and Victoria were subsequently founded, each on the broken zone of stratified rocks which diversifies the prevailing granite formation, and contains the reefs of auriferous quartz.

A mail service was immediately established to Fort Salisbury, despite difficulties illustrated by an adventure which occurred to one of its bearers. It was carried by post riders, who rode day and night between stations from twenty-five to forty miles apart, and by this means a letter was once delivered to Colonel Pennefather within eighty-four hours of its

despatch from Fort Tuli, 400 miles away. On the occasion in question a lad of the name of Thomas started with the bags from Matipi's station to ride through the bush to the north-east of Fort Tuli, on the evening of Christmas Day 1890. Mounted on one horse, and leading a second which carried the mail on a pack-saddle, he went forward through drizzling rain in a night of impenetrable darkness.

Suddenly [says Mr. Selous], both the horse he was riding and the pack-animal he was leading commenced to snort and plunge, and then galloped forward in the darkness along the waggon track, and Mr. Thomas immediately became aware that a lion was close behind them, as every stride was accompanied by a hoarse grating growl, that heard at close quarters on a dark night is not a reassuring sound. In this weird chase the darkness no doubt favoured the lion, and probably the horses never got fairly into their stride. In any case it was but a matter of a second or two before the lion sprang up and seized the horse Thomas was riding, claspng it from each side with its massive legs, and digging its cruel claws deep into either quarter. The horse was checked, and the jerk threw Thomas from the saddle, but the sharpness of the lion's claws, aided by the pace at which the horse was going, made them cut through skin and flesh like so many knives, so that the grim beast lost its hold, and fell to the ground, while the horse rushed madly forward along the road. The lion took up the chase again, neglecting to notice Thomas, who ran to the nearest tree, which he climbed without any unnecessary dawdling. Before long the lion, not having been able to overtake either of the horses, came back to where he had made his first spring, and then lay down at the foot of the tree. Here he spent the entire night, sometimes lying down, and sometimes walking round the tree.

It was broad daylight next morning when Thomas heard the crack of a whip, and presently was rejoiced to see a waggon train coming along the road. Then the lion got up and walked sulkily into the bush, and Thomas came down the tree and told his strange story to the people with the waggons, with whom he returned to Matipi's. Both horses turned up early in the night at the next post-station. The flanks of the one that had been attacked were badly lacerated by the lion, but it eventually recovered. The horse which carried the mail-bag seems to have left the road and dashed away into the bush when its companion was seized by the lion, and eventually turned up at the post-station minus the mail-bag, which had been doubtless torn off by the bushes through which the terrified animal rushed.

In a few years the lion will be as extinct in Mashunaland as the sabre-toothed tiger of the Drift in Western Europe, and the tale of a man having been treed by one while riding with the mail, will seem like a legend of the Dark Ages. But a

still more formidable obstacle to communication than the monarch of the veldt, is the tsetse fly, the winged plague of the tropical lowlands. To its ravages was due the failure of the Pungwe River route to Mashunaland, which was to reduce the land transport to Fort Salisbury from 1200, via Capetown, to 300 via Beira Bay and the navigable stream flowing into it. The premature attempt to force a passage by this road has left it strewn with the wreckage of traffic, and abandoned waggons, stores, and even mail coaches, with the skeletons of the animals sacrificed in the experiment, may still be seen along the track like so many sign-posts of disaster. Mr. Theodore Bent, alone among recent travellers, contrived to get through here in a light waggon drawn by eight asses, as those animals, though not impervious to tsetse bite, survive it long enough to complete the journey.

As, however, the fly belt is only from fifty to seventy miles across, the expedient of constructing a railway through it, and thus bridging the gap in the communications, naturally suggested itself. The works have been rapidly pushed on, and Mr. F. Hussey-Walsh's interesting report to the Foreign Office gives a very satisfactory account of their progress. The first section of forty-five miles, from Fontesvilla, at the head of navigation on the Pungwe, was in actual working order at the end of July, and another length of thirty miles was so nearly finished that a month from that time would suffice to render it available. Material had been accumulated for its prolongation to Chimoia's kraal, a further stretch of thirty-five miles, which it was anticipated might possibly be ready in January, and a survey was being made preparatory to its continuation at the other end, from Fontesvilla to Beira itself. A company has since been formed for improving the landing accommodation and anchorage at the latter place, which it is said will render the harbour one of the best in South Africa. Mr. Rhodes, in a speech at Fort Salisbury on October 15th, declared that the Beira route was then open, that the river transport was excellent, and that he had seen no fly in the neighbourhood of the railway terminus. The waggon road thence to Salisbury would, he added, shortly be one of the best in South Africa, as the Company were actively engaged in improving it. The cost of transport by this route was £23 5s. per ton, which Mr.

Hussey-Walsh calculates will be reduced to £15 as soon as the entire railway line is completed, while by the overland route from Capetown it amounts to £45 per ton. The effect of this reduction on the mining industry will be practically to revolutionise its conditions, as the freight on the heavy machinery required for quartz crushing has hitherto been so high as to be almost prohibitive. Should its productiveness in gold realise its immemorial reputation, this re-discovered land of Ophir will shortly be occupied by a large European population drawn thither by that great magnet of humanity.

The English occupation of the territories south of the Zambesi promises to open up a great extension of the Jesuit Mission to the basin of that river, undertaken long previous to the entry on the field of the Chartered Company. As early as 1877 was founded St. Aidan's College, Grahamstown, as its base of operations, and, in January 1879, Father Depelchin sailed from England with ten companions, including Father Law, to undertake the evangelisation of a tract of 900,000 miles of almost unknown country extending from the banks of the Limpopo to the tenth parallel of south latitude. The first station established in the interior was at Buluwayo, and the Fathers who reached it in September 1879 were well received by Lobengula and assigned a farm about eighteen miles from his residence. As, however, the minds of the Zulus, darkened by cruelty and superstition, proved impervious to Christian truth, while Lobengula would not sanction the establishment of a mission in Mashunaland, lest the tributary people should be more instructed than his own, it was thought necessary to explore for a more favourably circumstanced field for the apostolate in other regions. Hence the heroic but disastrous effort of Father Law, with Father Wehl, and Brothers Hedley and Sadeleer, to reach Umzila's kraal by a journey of 340 miles through an untravelled country.

Their misfortunes began with the abandonment of their waggon after crossing the Sabi, the difficulties of cutting a road for it through the bush being found insuperable in the face of the hostility of the natives. The hardships of the three weeks' march that followed, combined with the effects of climate and want of nourishing food, to lay the seeds of the fatal disease to which Father Law succumbed

[No. 9 of Fourth Series.]

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at Umzila's, on November 25, 1880, while Father Wehl, accidentally separated from his companions, and mourned by them as dead, was eventually rescued only to die at Sofala a little later, leaving the two lay Brothers the only survivors of the expedition. An attempt in the same year to found a station on the Zambesi itself resulted in equally deplorable failure, as the climate of this river and its immediate valley is the most deadly in South Africa, not only to Europeans, but to natives from other districts. On reaching this hotbed of malaria, at the village of a chief called Mwemba, the party all fell ill with such violent symptoms that they believed themselves poisoned. Their Superior, Father Teroede, died, and the remainder, after having been robbed of all their goods by their host, escaped on foot to the camp of the nearest white man. At Tete, the Portuguese settlement, which stands 500 feet above the river, there is a church with a resident priest, Father Courtois, S.J., and one of his coadjutors has, as Mr. Selous tells us, opened a school at Baroma, a place about twelve miles distant.

The enterprise of the British South Africa Company has now opened up a new field for missionary work, and the Order charged with its religious administration was not slow to take advantage of the opportunity thus presented to it. In April 1892 a party, consisting of five Jesuit Fathers, as many lay Brothers, and an equal number of Dominican nuns, started for Fort Salisbury to reinforce the missionaries already in occupation. Reaching it on July 29th, they pushed on next day to their final destination, where Father Prestage was in charge of the headquarters of the Mission, at a farm called Shishawasha. The Sisters were established at the hospital, where their ministrations are invaluable to the settlers. From this central point of administrative and social life in Mashunaland, missions are being sent out to more remote districts, and one has been established by Father Hartmann at the chief Matoko's, 100 miles to the north-east. Umtali, the most easterly township in the colony, has been visited by one of the Fathers, whose mass was attended by a congregation of seven persons, the largest on record. Fort Victoria, the first halting-place on the high veldt, and the centre of a mining district, contains the largest Catholic community in Mashunaland, and

here also a hospital has been erected and placed in charge of the Sisters, with accommodation for twenty white men, in addition to two huts for native patients. At Macloutsie, too, there is a little congregation composed of the Catholic members of the Bechuanaland Police stationed there, and the appreciation of the Sisters and their work in the hospital was practically shown by the collection of £40 for them during the Easter of 1893.

Priests and nuns have everywhere met with the greatest kindness and hospitality from the officers of the Company, and an interesting letter from one of the former, published in the *South African Catholic Magazine*, pays the following tribute to the authorities at Salisbury :

The kindness of the administration to the Sisters is extreme. Not only were the new Sisters rationed on arrival, but accommodation was provided for them. Indeed, so general is the esteem in which they are held for their work in the past, that Mother Patrick's wishes and words are supreme. But it would be a great mistake did I lead you to suppose that the kindness of Dr. Jameson and his able second, Mr. Duncan, was confined to the hospital. I have travelled in many parts, and seen many official circles, but never met with a tithe of the genuine considerate charity and attention I have witnessed in Mashunaland. I do not speak of the wide question of administrative government, but rather of passing daily acts, and I will make bold to say that there is no one in distress who has applied and not been helped—some with rations, some with means, some with farms or implements, some with appointments, some with protection, all with encouragement. No one has had an interview with the Doctor who does not leave the better for it. He has a wonderful power of imparting confidence and consolation. Though still in his thirties, he has the reputation of the first physician and surgeon in South Africa, and all the tact and talents required for such a position he throws into his present work. He is Governor, Commissioner, Judge of High Court and Appeal, and often magistrate, and now that Mr. Duncan is away holds all the portfolios—is in fact, "all hands."

These qualities have been still more conspicuously shown in the recent crisis in the destiny of Mashunaland. That its occurrence was inevitable, must have been long obvious to him, as to any one familiar with course of events attendant on European colonisation among savage populations. The co-existence on equal terms of powers representing the opposite poles of the social scale is an absolute impossibility, and the institutions of savagery are shattered no less inevitably than through the action

of a law of nature by the mere impact of the forces of civilisation. The only thing to hope, when such a consummation arrives, is that the struggle may be a brief and decisive one, resulting in the reconciliation of the conquered people to the new order of things.

The very qualities which render the Zulus formidable foes and aggressive neighbours, are but the earnest of their higher capabilities. The martial spirit which they conspicuously display is the backbone of national character, forming the basis of strength required to give stability to all other virtues. Enslaved under their native rulers to an iniquitous system which perverts courage to cruelty, and makes heroism the handmaid of ferocity, they prove, when reclaimed, capable of rising to a proportionally high level of morality. The Zulus in Natal make the best servants, faithful, devoted, absolutely trustworthy, and generally showing by their conduct an example which might be profitably followed by Europeans of the same class.

But in order to develop their natural virtues, they must be delivered from the cruel yoke which presses on them scarcely less heavily than on those whom they oppress in their turn. Lobengula, though devoid of all personal taste for carnage, is driven to maintain his authority by the methods traditional among his people. Family affection is no safeguard against his capricious tyranny, as was shown by the execution of his favourite sister on an accusation of witchcraft, and every Zulu holds his life at the discretion of the truculent despot whose rule has found a bulwark in English humanitarianism.

Superstition, on which the whole organisation of native society is based, promotes acquiescence in defeat as evidence of the supernatural, rather than material superiority of the victor. The Zulu king, hitherto revered as the chief wizard and rainmaker of his nation, will be discredited in the eyes of his people by the proved inferiority of his spells to those of the white man. The native view of the achievements of the latter is illustrated by the phraseology of the Kafir, who reported after a sight of the electric railway at Kimberley, that "the English had inspanned the devil." To the same infernal agency will be ascribed the action of the machine

guns and other implements of modern warfare. The oracles of the Matabele Delphi, where the underground rumblings heard from a chasm in the floor of a mountain cavern are interpreted as the utterances of the god Makalaka, will be distrusted, if, falsified by events, they no longer furnish reliable omens of victory. The humanising influences of civilisation and Christianity can only be exerted here, when the ground has been cleared of the wreck of these debasing beliefs and the cruel customs from which they are inseparable.

The presentation to the eyes of these poor savages of a new ideal, that of power based not on tyranny, but on justice, is the first step towards their reclamation, and the English colonists, whatever ulterior aims they individually may have in view, are doing good work in laying this moral foundation of empire. A correspondent writing in the *Times* of October 7th, declares that it is impossible to give a better idea of the estimation in which the English are held by all South African races than by a glance at the labour markets of the diamond mines and gold-fields in Kimberley and the Transvaal.

To supply the immense labour now required by these industries [he goes on] native races throng from every corner of South and South-Central Africa. Hundreds, nay thousands, of these labourers start from their kraals knowing nothing more of the English than by the reports brought by their fellow-tribesmen, who have returned rich from work in the mines. In the remotest kraals and villages the belief in the honour and good faith of the British paymaster is so strong among people naturally suspicious, that month after month, year by year, raw, untutored natives from the wildest districts set forth on the long journey southward. I have met many parties of natives on the Zambesi road thus marching southward; men and boys from the far Barotse valley, some of whom had never set eyes on the white man before. The journey is long indeed, and the passage through remote and waterless deserts, very trying before their El Dorado is reached. Yet hunger, thirst, not seldom death itself, are braved by these poor South Africans that they may reach the Englishman's mines and touch his gold. Of all South African sights, and they are strange and many, none is more pathetic or more striking than the sublime confidence of these starving Zambesi wayfarers in British honesty and British truth.

It is to this pacific conquest of English character rather than to the victories of arms that we look forward, when we

rejoice in the incorporation of the fair and fertile regions depopulated by Lobengula in the great oversea dominion of Britain. Only under the rule of the white man can these benighted and degraded nations be educated and disciplined to take their part in the common inheritance of humanity, and the highest and noblest qualities of the English race are put to the highest and noblest use in helping forward the reclamation and redemption of savage Africa.

E. M. CLERKE.

Science Notices.

The Electrical Congress at the Chicago Exhibition.—It is satisfactory, for the interests of practical electricity, that the Electrical Congress at Chicago has secured the ratification of the results of the labours of the Board of Trade Electrical Standards Committee and the Edinburgh Conference, and that there can now be said to be international agreement concerning the fundamental electrical units. The inner chamber at the Chicago Congress, whose duty it was to pass resolutions on these matters of international importance, was composed of twenty-eight delegates, Great Britain and each of the principal foreign Powers having five representatives. Those chosen to represent Great Britain were Professors Ayrton and Silvanus Thompson, Major-General C. E. Webber, Mr. W. H. Preece, and Mr. Alexander Siemens. One of the principal points of discussion was the standard of resistance, which is now finally agreed to be a mercury column 106·3 centimetres in length. This decision must be particularly welcome to the leading American electricians, since at the Paris Congress of 1884, when the mercury column was decided to be 106 centimetres in length, the American representatives were in disagreement, considering that this figure was not large enough. Another important point settled by the Congress was the adoption of the term "Henry" to represent the unit of self-induction, in honour of its discoverer, Joseph Henry, instead of the name quadrant. Amongst the other questions discussed was how an adequate definition of the candle power of high candle power electric lights could be obtained. Owing to the difficulties in the way of measuring the candle power of the lights, the description of their candle power is often greatly exaggerated—in fact, being anything the exhibitor likes to call them, from thousands to millions. It was suggested that lamps should be defined in terms of watts, not of candle power, but no conclusion was arrived at. Another point discussed, but which was also left open, was the unit of light. It was urged that the Von Hefner lamp should be adopted as the standard, as though it has a reddish flame it excels every other form of lamp in equal constancy. Besides the work of the chamber of delegates, the Congress afforded an opportunity for the reading of various papers on electrical subjects of the day, and some discussion took place, notwithstanding the fact that the room provided for the meeting opened upon the uproarious station

of the Illinois Central Railroad. Amongst the most remarkable of these papers was the one read by Professor Silvanus Thompson, on "Ocean Telephony," and that of Mr. Preece on "The Transmission of Electrical Signals Through Space."

It is certainly surprising that while the transmission of messages in land telegraphy has been of recent years accelerated till it is possible to transmit 500 words a minute, we are content with the slow speed of eight words a minute in our Atlantic cables. It seems as if we have regarded the retardation of the signals as an insuperable obstacle instead of an engineering difficulty. The desire for progress in telephony is probably about to accomplish what has hitherto been denied to telegraphy. The present Atlantic cables are useless for the purpose of telephony, and before we can hope to speak from the Old World to the New or *vice versa*, the cables must be provided with means of counterbalancing the retarding influences caused by the electro-static charge of the cable. Professor Thompson's paper offered suggestions for carrying out this object, and though in it he does not pose as an engineer with a specification of a new cable, still he has so much faith in the theory he proposes, that he calls upon the practical engineer to embody it in a cable designed for practice. He maintains that the key to the solution of the difficulty is to provide compensating arrangements throughout the whole length of the cable, not only at each end, as has been hitherto done. He considers that the antidote to the retarding effects of electro-static capacity will be found to be in electro-magnetic induction.

It is well known that the effects of electro-magnetic induction are in a sense reciprocal to those of capacity. The most familiar modern example is that of the opposite operation of self-induction and of capacity in the phase of an alternate current, the one tending to produce a lag, the other a lead, in the phase of a current relatively to the electro-motive force. It is obvious that if electro-static capacity can be used to correct the effects of electro-magnetic induction, conversely it will be possible to use electro-magnetic induction to correct the retarding effects of electro-static capacity.

He thinks that the end can be accomplished either by self-induction coils or mutual induction coils distributed at intervals throughout the cable, and is of opinion that a practical cable might be devised in which the retarding effects would be so completely annulled that telephonic speech and automatic telegraphy would be possible.

Mr. Preece's paper dealt with some experiments he recently conducted between Flatham, on the coast of South Wales, in telegraphing without wires. At Lavernock Point, near Cardiff, he suspended on poles, for a distance of 1267 yards, two thick copper wires with

the ends earthed. Through the circuit he sent a current up to a maximum of 15 amperes by means of an alternator. In the circuit was a suitable key for producing Morse signals. A secondary circuit of insulated wire was laid for a length of 600 yards on Flat-hom, 3.1 miles away. A telephone was included in the circuit. It was found possible to transmit signals through the intervening space from the primary to the secondary circuit. Experiments were also tried to send the signals to another circuit at the island of Steepholm 5.35 miles distant. In this case the signals were distinguishable, but speech could not be reproduced by the telephone. By means of a small steam launch, Mr. Preece moved backwards or forwards half a mile of gutta-percha covered wire between the primary circuit and the island, the ends of the cable being attached to a buoy. When the wire was near the surface the signals were heard, but when it was deeply immersed there was no effect. Mr. Preece regards this experiment as an exaggeration of the phenomena of the induction coil, being the propagation of electro-magnetic waves through ether from the primary to the secondary circuit. This opinion has, however, been met with some criticism, some thinking the effects are due to earth currents. For instance, Mr. Willoughby S. Smith maintains that Mr. Preece's experiments are simply the reproduction on a larger scale of the experiments that have been already done on a small scale at the Needles lighthouse. In this case the transmission of signals was accomplished without connecting wires through a distance of some sixty yards, and the effect has never been considered to be due to anything but earth currents. The object of the experiment at the Needles was to discover whether it was necessary to provide a continuous cable, as when a cable is carried from the sea-bed to the side of a rock, it is difficult to prevent it being damaged by the waves beating against the rock. In 1882 an ordinary submarine cable was laid from Alum Bay to within sixty yards of the rock on which the Needles lighthouse is built. At this point the conductor was attached to a specially devised anchor. An earth plate was provided near the pier, so that a circuit could be made through the water. On the lighthouse rock two copper conductors were placed, one on each side, so that they were immersed at low water, thus providing another circuit through the water near the rock. Telegraphic signals were successfully transmitted through the gap, only a Leclanche cell being necessary to produce the current. Mr. Willoughby Smith considers that Mr. Preece's experiments only differed from those at the Needles by the substitution of the powerful electric currents produced by an alternator for the feeble currents derived from

Leclanche cell, and in the fact that the distance in the former case was over three miles, while in the latter it was only sixty yards. Considering this difference of opinion it seems important that further experiments should be conducted in this fascinating departure of the telegraphic art, to decide whether the results obtained in the Flathom experiments were really due to induction or conduction. But to whichever influence they were due there still remains the fact that a distance of a few miles has been bridged invisibly for a useful purpose. Even if it should not be possible to extend telegraphy without wires to enormous distances, there are many cases when it would be useful to thus bridge short distances. As Mr. Willoughby Smith suggests, if a cable is laid from the shore out to sea with its end anchored in a known position, it would be easy for any ship knowing the position of the submerged end to communicate with the shore. As Mr. Preece suggests, the system may afford a means of signalling in fogs. Possibly Mr. Preece will throw more light on the subject, and answer criticism as to the cause in the paper which he has promised to read before the Society of Arts during the coming session.

The Wasp Plague.—It is a pity that the mass of journalistic correspondence of this summer on wasps did not all emanate from skilled observers, for then we should have had an accession of valuable data to the known history of these unpopular insects. For instance, it might have been ascertained whether or no the hornet, *V. crabro*, is now extinct in these islands. But an untrained observer will rarely be able to discriminate between a hornet and a large female wasp. Mr. Oswald H. Latter is of opinion that the hornet is a disappearing species. The popular observations point to the presence in great numbers of five of the seven British species of *Vespa*, thus representing both the "ground" and "tree" wasps. There seems to be no hesitation amongst authorities, such as Miss Ormerod, that this summer's increased insect life of some kinds—for all forms of insect life were not increased—was owing to the meteorological conditions, in so far as they influenced first the development of the insects themselves, and secondly, the state of their crop-food plants. The food of wasps can be at need so varied that in considering their condition this summer we need not attach great importance to the weather influence on the vegetable world. But the almost entire cessation of frost after March 23, and the prolonged drought, no doubt preserved the lives of numerous queens and countless nests. These queens, the

foundresses of future colonies, when tempted from their hibernating quarters by a deceptive warm spring day, often perish with the return of snow or frost, while the shape and situation of a ground nest favour its easy flooding by heavy rains; then, again, the grubs must perish if the queens, tempted out by fickle fairness of weather, are prevented by storms from returning to feed them. For in the highly developed social organisation of the "social wasps," the young family are fed by the foundress, and it is this custom that, according to Herr Verhoeff, has developed family affection amongst wasps, and brought about their social communities, in spite of their being, to a great extent, insect feeders, and therefore more likely to be of warlike and unpeaceable dispositions than the bees who are vegetable feeders.

The study of the various wasps' nests is exceedingly interesting, throwing much light on the progress of the insect social communities. The paper structures of the "social wasps," with the waxen cells of the bees, are the highest forms of nest. One of these wasps' nests is a delicate structure, in form like an umbrella, with the cells clustering round the handle, so that they are exposed to moisture from below. In an underground nest the shaft and the curved passage from beneath to the cells can easily be flooded, and in wet springs this must be the fate of many of them.

Mr. Latter suggests that the drought not only saved the nests, but also benefited the wasps by the increase of alaphides, while at the same time it was slightly disadvantageous in depriving the growing grubs of moisture.

It is to be hoped that the public interest aroused in the wasps may result in a more skilled observation of this family who, with the other sting-bearing *Hymenoptera*, are accorded by zoologists the highest place amongst insects.

The Correction of Photographic Perspective.—The distortion of certain parts of the human figure in photographs has long been regarded as an inevitable fault. Often has an excellent likeness and a graceful attitude been marred by the arms and hands having come out in gigantic disproportion to the rest of the figure. The amount of the distortion is according as the arms and hands are extended towards the camera, and the distortion is not confined to these portions of the body, but is shared by every part that is out of one plane. It has thus become the rule of the photographer to arrange the sitter as far as possible in one plane. This confinement of the limbs of the sitter limits the artistic value of photography, and so

often gives the subjects a cramped and unnatural appearance. Mr. H. Van der Weyde's invention for the modification of photographic perspective is certainly ingenious, and although, when he recently brought forward his experiments at a meeting of the Society of Arts, he was met with some criticism, all interested in the extremely popular art of photography will watch with interest the working of his method. Mr. Van der Weyde states that the modification of photographic perspection was beset with five difficult problems, all of which have been solved. 1. It is necessary to reduce locally the size of the special part of the body in question, whether it be the head, hands, or feet. This must be done symmetrically, so as not to change the character or symmetry of a head or the expression of a face. It may be also necessary to reduce the width only of a hand or waist, and thus give a slender instead of a diminutive effect. 2. It may be necessary to make a number of corrections in one negative at the same time, and with such simplicity and rapidity as not to call for special skill and to add to the time taken in focussing. 3. It may be desirable to shorten or lengthen a portion of the whole negative right across without distorting the rest; for example, in the case of a landscape, the photographer may wish to vertically enlarge the middle distance, while reducing the depth of foreground and sky. 4. It is necessary to obtain with each lens a variable degree of the modification of the dimensions of the parts: corrected so as to avoid the use of a great number of lenses. 5. It is important to obtain a readily fashioned refracting medium, so as to be able to make eccentric alterations. The first of these problems was solved by placing a supplementary lens in front of the sensitive plate; an ordinary lens would not answer the purpose, for the abrupt ending of the curve would throw a shadow on the negative, and the abruptly broken off lines would not correspond with those on the inside. Mr. Van der Weyde has got over the difficulty in the manner which he describes as follows:

I continually vary the curvature of my lens until it reaches the plane—in other words, where the circumference of a plano-convex lens would otherwise stop—it flows or graduates into the reverse or concave curve or, if plano-concave, *vice versa*, and thus gradually merges by a wave-like line into the plane, with the result that the dark zone before referred to, consequent on the use of an ordinary lens, is replaced by a perfectly natural gradation, leaving no evidence whatever of the correction having been made.

To meet the second difficulty he uses a number of small lenses made on the above-mentioned principle, and he provides the means of invisibly and adjustably supporting them in the pencil of rays. The third problem is solved by interposing a plate of glass, a portion

only of which is of a cylindrical form, flowing gradually into a plane. The fourth difficulty is surmounted by arranging the lenses in the camera so that they can be easily moved backwards or forwards. Mr. Van der Weyde estimates that about twelve corrector lenses would be sufficient for the ordinary purposes of portraiture. As regards the last essential—the refracting medium—Mr. Van der Weyde says that he has found one that is “readily fashioned,” but from prudent reasons keeps it a secret.

That such a process may be of use to photographers there can be no doubt. But it seems capable of much misuse. To use it delicately would require the artistic temperament to distinguish between a laudable idealism and a mere pandering to the wishes of the sitter, who, having by nature hands or feet of a certain size, may desire to see their dimensions considerably reduced in the photograph. The inventor himself urges that a merit of the system is to enable photographers to please their sitters. As it is too much to expect that the majority of photographers are artists in the higher sense of the word, it seems probable that the invention will in some cases lend itself to a too flattering likeness, and in others to a painful caricature.

The Telautograph.—At the present time there is a dearth of scientific inventions of the scale and startling properties to which with the growth of the latter half of the century we have become accustomed. It is pleasant, therefore, to find at the Chicago Exhibition at least one invention that has about it the air of startling novelty which we now rightly or wrongly expect. The telautograph of Dr. Elisha Gray, whose inmost workings are still wrapt in mystery, suits the popular appetite for wonders, while it seems practical and valuable. It is an instrument for writing at a distance. In the transmitting office is a lead pencil, to which, near the point, are attached two fine silk cords; these lengthen and shorten according to the movements of the pencil, and work the mechanism of the transmitter; the transmitter regulates the current impulses in the intervening wire which work a pen at the receiving station. This pen is a tube of hair-like fineness at one end, held at right angles to the plane of the paper by two aluminium arms, through one of which the ink enters by means of an inner rubber tube in connection with the ink reservoir. The movements of the pencil govern those of the pen minutely and completely. The recorded message, writing, drawing, diagram, or what not, is exactly reproduced, the receiving pen moving in perfect synchronism with the transmitting pencil.

The details of the mechanism are not yet made known, but we are told they are as simple as effective.

The telautograph requires a battery such as is used in telegraphy, and has the advantage over the telephone in being unaffected in its action by "parasitic" currents. Likewise it is silent in its working, excepting for the minute sound of the friction between pen, pencil, and paper. It delivers two copies of the message and cannot easily be "tapped" *en route* by a third person, owing to the difficulty of carrying about such a piece of apparatus. These advantages are great and seem to promise the instrument a wide practical use.

A telautograph is now in daily use in America between Highland Park and Wankegan, a distance of fourteen miles.

Dr. Gray, an electrician already known to us by his musical telephone and the harmonic telegraph transmitter, has now successfully realised in his telautograph the hopes of the earlier specialists, Bain, Caselli, &c., and, above all, of Cowper, the inventor of a writing instrument which, though ingenious, had not a practical career.

The late Professor Tyndall.—Perhaps few scientists have commanded a wider obituary notice than the late Professor Tyndall. It is within the scope of these notices merely to refer to a few features of his scientific work. As an exponent of natural science Tyndall may be fairly said to have stood without an equal. It is true that the work of the popularisation of the great truths of nature was commenced by Faraday, who in his lectures at the Royal Institution was the first to show that the delights of observation and experiment was not only the portion of a few savants in their laboratories, but could be shared by all. Faraday's time was, however, largely absorbed in originating those great discoveries which have earned for him the title of the father of electricity. After Faraday's death his mantle of scientific demonstration fell upon Tyndall, and he may truly be said, in his brilliant discourses and lucid writings, to have reflected the scientific spirit and work of the age as no man had ever done. Perhaps he showed his greatest strength in his lectures, in which not only was the ear impressed with eloquent but withal exact utterance, but the eye was ever fascinated with the fertility and variety of experiment which he thought so necessary for fixing the facts he handled in the minds of his hearers. Perhaps the greatest charm in his lectures was his own enthusiasm in the revelations of nature evoked by his experiments, which by force of character he transmitted to his audience.

As a writer, his works were marked with that lucidity so necessary

to a popular treatise, but unfortunately absent in the majority of scientific writings. The difficulties of the most abstruse subject melted away in his happily chosen language, and became clear to the most unscientific reader. Many a student has turned in despair from the obscure sentence of the text-book to find the solution of his difficulties in the Professor's works. This lucidity of expression by attracting so many unscientific readers to peruse his works, has been a powerful instrument in extending scientific knowledge in this country. Amongst the most useful of his writings has been his work on "The Floating Matter of the Air," in which he made widely known the researches of Pasteur and others concerning the microbes of disease, and impressed the public with the importance of that branch of science called preventative medicine. Amongst the literary efforts which have perhaps given most pleasure is his work on "The Forms of Water," which embody his researches in Alpine regions, where on the Bel Alp he partly made his home. The description in this work of the ways of nature in cloud, river, ice, and glacier, have doubtless afforded hours of enjoyment to those who from reasons of health or pleasure have turned their travels towards the playground of Europe. As regards the discoveries of Tyndall, it cannot be said that he was the revealer of one of those greater truths which revolutionise the world's thoughts or ways; such a truth, for instance, as Faraday laid bare in magneto-electric induction: or that he was the framer of any such far-reaching theory as Young's hypothesis of the ether of space. His original researches have, however, been of undoubted value. Amongst them were his researches on dia-magnetism, on the propagation of sound in the atmosphere, on ice, on radiant heat, the results of the latter investigations being published in his work entitled "Heat a Mode of Motion." In this treatise in a few words he shows how he was ever reflective of the scientific spirit of the age. Speaking of the ether of space at the commencement of lecture xiv. he says, "The natural philosophy of the future will in great part consist of inquiries into the relations subsisting between ordinary matter, and the luminiferous ether." How true was that phrophecy! The scientific tendency of to-day is to reduce all natural energy to some manifestation of the invisible ether. Since those words were written Dr. Hertz has identified electricity with the all-pervading medium.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Indians of New Mexico.—Mr. Lummis* has given a most interesting study of a curious phase of society handed down from pre-historic times, and still subsisting in the little explored south-western territories of the United States. The Pueblo Indians in the remote parts of New Mexico are still in the same stage of primitive semi-civilisation as when reached by the Spanish conqueror, Coronado, in 1540, a level to which modern American historians seek, with an exaggeration of depreciative criticism, to reduce the vaunted glories of the Empire of Montezuma. The first explorer of this territory was the Franciscan Friar, Marcos of Nizza, who reached it in his lonely apostolic wanderings in 1539. The author, omitting the extraneous American element which is no more than ten per cent., classifies the population of New Mexico under three heads: first, the nine thousand Pueblo Indians, the gentle villagers whose manners are the main subject of the book; next, ten thousand of the nomad Navajo Indians of whom an equal number are denizens of Arizona; and thirdly, the Mexican Spaniards, who form the bulk of the European or semi-European inhabitants. The first-named live in nineteen little cities, of a type unmatched in any other quarter of the globe; the second in the Navajo Reservation, a picturesque tract with broad plains hemmed in by giant mesas, or table-topped mountains, cloven by yawning cañons; and the third in several hundred villages scattered through an area measuring 300 by 400 miles. The typical Pueblo consists of a solid block of building forming three sides of a quadrangle, enclosing a court or square. While the external wall is perpendicular, the internal frontage rises in a series of stages or terraces receding from the base towards the summit, so that the flat roof of each successive story forms a sort of esplanade to the one immediately above it. The fourth side of the square consists of a solid block of one story high, pierced by one or two narrow gates giving access to the internal enclosure. There are no doors to the ground-floor rooms, which are reached by ladders and trap-doors in the roof, the upper levels and topmost roof being scaled by irregular steps on the walls. The doors are very small and the windows, formed of sheets of translucent gypsum, admit little light to

* "The Land of Poco Tiempo." By C. F. Lummis. London: Sampson. Low. 1893.

the interior. This common building is partitioned off internally into separate family dwellings, while there are usually several detached structures called "estufas," used as council-houses and places for the transaction of public business. In these estufas the whole male population—men and boys—slept, ate and lived, down to the Spanish conquest, which first conferred on the inhabitants the boon of family life. Three tiers of terraces was the prevailing form of structure, but one of the New Mexican Pueblos consists of two pyramidal blocks, six stories high. The living-rooms of these strange dwellings are not devoid of comfort and even ornament. The walls are hung with pious pictures and images, and lined with benches covered with handsome, and sometimes costly, Navajo blankets, concealing the wool mattresses, which are spread on the floor at night. A little stove, an array of curiously painted water jugs, and a set of slabs for pounding corn, make up the rest of the domestic furniture. Other treasures, such as buckskins, handsomely woven shawls, and silver and coral necklaces, are suspended from the walls, beside strips of dried gourd, and jerked mutton or venison, parched chiles, dried peaches, and similar stores.

Rural Industry in New Mexico.—The Pueblos, which before the conquest changed their sites so frequently as to have given by their ruins the false idea that the ancient population was much more numerous than that of the present day, became fixtures under Spanish rule, on the ample domains then secured to them, in the possession of which they were subsequently confirmed by grants from the United States Government. The aggregate area of land owned by them is 893,130 acres, the bulk of which is devoted to grazing, the amount under tillage being but $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres per head of population. They have been from time immemorial masters of the art of irrigation, and by threading their fields with tiny water-courses, raise wheat and maize, brown beans, chiles, peaches and melons, in sufficient quantity for their simple necessities. All domestic animals were introduced by the Spaniards, but were rapidly assimilated, and now almost every family owns, in addition to its extensive flocks of sheep, a good farm waggon, one or more horses, and several asses. The attempt to plant cattle ranches in New Mexico proved an utter failure, and the sheep remains the foundation of rural economy. One proprietor at the beginning of the century owned two million head, with 2700 peons as shepherds, in addition to many thousand more dependent on him in other ways. The last of the great sheep-kings, who died some years ago, left flocks numbering 200,000, but the

[No. 9 of *Fourth Series*.]

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largest now existing are about half that, while there are over a dozen owners of 50,000 and upwards. The system by which labour was pledged as security for debt, was equivalent to a form of slavery, which to all intents and purposes still subsists.

Flagellants of the West.—The Pueblo Indians, converted wholesale by the early Franciscan missionaries, have reared vast churches in their cliff-bound hamlets as monuments of their simple faith. A typical apostolate was that of Fray Juan Ramirez, who in 1629 walked from Santa Fé to Acoma, and was received by his future flock with a shower of arrows, legend even averring that he was thrown from a precipice, and miraculously buoyed up by his robe. He finally won the hearts of his persecutors, lived alone among them for twenty years, baptized them, and taught them to read and write. To heroism of this stamp was due the conversion of the Pueblos into Christian communities, among which was introduced, with other Spanish devotions, the order of the Hermanos Penitentes or Penitent Brothers, founded 300 years ago for religious study and contemplation. The craze for self-torture displayed in many of the native Indian observances has led to its perversion into a monstrous machinery of fanaticism whose excesses are condemned alike by Church and State. The Order, which ten years ago numbered thousands, and had a branch in every village, has now dwindled down to a handful of associates, and its public processions were in 1888 held in only three towns of the territory. Of these the principal is San Mateo, where the ghastly celebration was witnessed, and even photographed, by the author. The identity of the Brothers, from fear of the condemnation of the ecclesiastical authorities, is kept a profound secret, and their heads and faces are shrouded in a hood or sack. Their flagellations, privately administered every Friday in Lent, and publicly in the processions in Holy Week, culminate on Good Friday in a representation of the Crucifixion, carried out with such realism that the death of the victim is by no means rare. This ceremony in addition to other cruel forms of torture has been witnessed in San Mateo in 1889, 1890, and 1891. These deluded fanatics, so far from being men of good lives, are principally habitual criminals, who think by these Lenten exercises to expiate the sins of the whole year. The Brotherhood, though outlawed, holds the balance of political power, and is courted on that account. A tribal penance, consisting of a four days' fast, sometimes by the whole population, but generally by some four or six representatives, has been practised by the Pueblo Indians from remote antiquity, and the

cacique, whose title has that signification, was originally the professional penitent of his tribe.

Cave Villages and Rock Sculpture.—Many remnants of cave dwellings still exist in New Mexico, but are all deserted by the communities that occupied them. The largest, situated on the side of a gorge some 2000 feet deep, and less than a quarter of a mile across, accommodated from 1500 to 2000 inhabitants, extending along the face of the cliff for a couple of miles in tiers of one, two, and three stories.

The inhabitants of this excavated city are supposed to have been the sculptors of the only high relief carvings found in the country. These are the images of four stone pumas or American lions of life-size, grouped in pairs and in very good preservation. The most perfect of these monuments occupies the centre of an enclosure about thirty feet in diameter, fenced with slabs of tufa set on edge, and approached by a sort of avenue or alley, five feet wide by twenty long, similarly walled. The puma, the most powerful of the American quadrupeds, was evidently adopted as the divinity of the chase, and worshipped accordingly by this tribe.

Chinese Ornaments.—Seekers after novelty in personal adornment might get many hints from the hair jewellery of Chinese women. The United States Consul at Amoy embodies the results of his studies on this and kindred subjects in a special report on Chinese curios, and describes in detail the varieties of pins which embellish the female *coiffure*. The finest are of gold and silver, and the brass substitutes used by the poor emulate these in having their tips formed of the precious metals. The wife of a famous Canton banker wore one with a large diamond for its head, and the wife of the Viceroy of Fokien, one terminating in a large ruby. Other precious stones are used in the same way, and for a few dollars a silver pin with an inferior stone may be bought, while a brass one with a head of imitation jade, may be had for as many cents. Some pins terminate in clusters of fanciful design, such as seven jade stars suspended from fine wires, blue cats'-eyes representing a bunch of grapes, turquoises carved into violets, buttercups in gold-leaf, or minute flowers and fruits in porcelain. Even ordinary hairpins six to eight inches long are of gold and silver mixed with an alloy, which makes them capable of being bent in any direction in securing the hair. They last a lifetime, as they are unbreakable and not easily lost. They are worn night and day, and are only removed in the

morning for the process of washing and drying the hair. Thumb rings are a favourite style of ornament for men, as are also jade belt clasps. The present Governor of Amoy has one of these representing two interlaced dragons valued at £200, and said to be four hundred years old.

Socialist Colony in Mexico.—An article in *Frank Leslie's Monthly* describes the experiment of a colony on the harbour of Topolobampo on the Pacific coast of Mexico, founded some seven years ago on strictly Socialist principles. A company was then formed which took up a quarter of a million acres in that locality, chosen for its remoteness from legislative interference or the example of differently constituted communities. Ten-dollar shares were issued to the number of 100,000, each representing a town lot in the future city. No shares can be sold except to the company itself, which holds the land in perpetuity, selling to its settlers only the right of occupancy. Company scrip exchangeable for perpetual leases of blocks of land forms the currency of the colony. All produce is pooled, each receiving a share proportioned to his labour and original investment, and workmen are paid in scrip representing three dollars a day. The first 400 colonists fared badly. Arriving at the end of a long drought, they could barely extract a livelihood from the soil, while the subsequent rainy season found them imperfectly sheltered in ill-roofed houses. About half returned to their former homes, while the remainder, reinforced from time to time by occasional arrivals, struggled on. Their ranks were increased in 1890 by a fresh contingent of 200, raising their number to 500, to which a large increase was expected in 1893. Women and children are in the ascendant, the men forming only 40 per cent. of the population. No golden dream of prosperity has been realised by the settlers, whose life continues to be a hard one. The regulations of the company, which were at first very strict, have been relaxed since the first colonisation, and the community now formulates its own rules on democratic principles. Churches and public worship are forbidden, but families and individuals are allowed to practise their own forms of religion privately. Marriages receive the sanction of the director, and are recognised without further ceremony, and it may be presumed that divorce is equally easy of attainment. The qualifications of the teacher in the school for the rising generation may be measured by the fact that he receives the same wages as the hedgers and ditchers. Families live apart, but the unmarried men are housed in a large building where cooking is done for all on the co-operative system. The result is summed up in the statement that "the lack of religious feeling, the

endless grind for material things, and the years of demand for hopefulness upon the spirit of each colonist, have been productive of discouragement for many."

British Mission to Kabul.—The route of Sir Mortimer Durand on his mission to the Ameer lay through the valley of the Kabul River, described as fertile and luxuriant with continuous cultivation and many trees. Reaching Jellalabad on September 23rd, the Mission halted there for Sunday in a palace approached by a good carriage-road from the western gate of the city. The building, planned by the Ameer himself, rests on a basement floor of taikhanas or underground rooms, and is surrounded by a verandah giving access to the central hall surmounted by a dome, from which long rooms open on three sides by arches. The gardens, enclosed by a high wall, are diversified by fountains and sheets of ornamental water. The town is traversed by a long bazaar mainly roofed in, but has no other feature of interest. At Jellalabad the route left the Kabul River to follow one of its tributaries, the Surkhab, or "red water." At Nimla they halted in a beautiful garden of plane and cypress trees, said to have been made by the grandson of Jehangir (1605–28). The central avenue ascends by four terraces with tanks 10 feet wide running along their entire length, and connected by waterfalls 8 to 10 feet high. This camp was 3600 feet above the sea, and commanded a view of the Safed Koh rising to 14,000. The next stage was Surkhpul (red bridge), so called from a bridge, built by Dost Mahomed, over the Surkhab. Here an elevation of 4200 feet was attained, and the country consisted of low undulating hills separated by deep ravines. Fruit was wonderfully abundant, and grapes and pomegranates are exported to India. The former are of especially fine quality, but are only grown for eating, as no wine is made from them. The road, after leaving Surkhab, passed through a hilly and rugged country with little or no vegetation. Two or three marches, ending in an ascent of 3000 feet in seven miles, brought the party to the top of a height whence Kabul was mistily visible, some twenty miles away. Sheep were met in large flocks being driven down from their pasturages to the lower grounds, some of them on their way even to Peshawur. Kabul, when more nearly approached, was seen nestling amid its trees and gardens, flanked on the left by its celebrated fort, the Bala Hissar, and backed by the rugged Paghman range 15,000 feet high, while the Hindu Khush closed the view to the north. Sherpur was passed with its walls almost hidden by willows and orchards, the grey dome

of the "Ark," or fortified palace of the Ameer, showing above its moated walls. A gap immediately behind the city of Kabul leads into the Chardeh Valley, which is a mass of vegetation. Like that of Kabul proper, it is a basin so closely enfolded by the surrounding hills that the gorges leading out of it are only seen on close approach. The Mission was quartered in the country palace of Indaki, commanding beautiful views and surrounded by gardens, and hospitably entertained until its departure.

The French Congo.—M. Dybowski, in his book "*La Route du Tchad*," published in 1893, gives an exhaustive account of the countries he passed through in an expedition intended to co-operate with the ill-fated Crampel Mission. Communications on the north, or French bank of the Congo, from the coast to Stanley Pool, are much more backward than on the south bank, and the journey takes from thirty to forty days, according to the season. Part of the route lies, too, through a dense and matted forest, recalling, on a smaller scale, that traversed by Stanley on his march through Central Africa. Brazzaville, the French port on the Pool, is evidently very much behind the other settlements in the same region, in commerce and enterprise. Thus, while a good deal of the soil has been cleared near the station, there has been no persistent attempt to cultivate it, although fresh vegetables and milk would contribute much to the health of Europeans by varying their insufficient diet. The Catholic Mission has, as usual, set an example of rural industry, and possesses, in addition to large tracts of culture, a vegetable garden, where radishes, carrots, cabbages, tomatoes, egg-plants, and lettuces flourish in abundance. The Dutch factories, too, are surrounded by fruit and vegetable gardens, showing the capabilities of soil and climate for the growth of European products. Brazzaville, again, instead of trading direct with the interior, by means of its own flotilla of steamers, like the stations of the other nationalities, does so only through native intermediaries, who ascend the river in their canoes and sell their cargoes of ivory and rubber to the factories, from which they take European goods in exchange. There seems to be no restriction on the importation of spirits, and "the bottle" (of gin) is one of the chief units of value. The elephant is now nearly extinct in the immediate neighbourhood of the Pool, although the author assisted at the chase of one which offered a singular scene. The great pachyderm, being wounded and hard pressed by his assailants, took to the water, and was pursued by a fleet of native canoes hemming him in and heading him towards the shore. Having finally grounded on a

bank, he was quickly despatched and cut in pieces. The trunk, as a choice portion, was presented to the French officials, and was of huge dimensions and weight, with a diameter of forty centimetres at its root. It was cooked in an excavation in the earth, heated by a fire of brushwood, and was left in it all night on a bed of banana leaves, while another fire was kept alight on the earth covering it. Thus thoroughly baked, it forms an eatable, but scarcely an appetising dish. Hippopotamus meat is tough and stringy, and that of the alligator, though tender, spoiled by its detestable musky flavour.

The Karens of Burma.—Mr. Cuming,* in his sketches of Burmese life and character, gives an interesting account of the scant and scattered population occupying the vast hill districts of Burma. The Karens live either in isolated huts, in small villages, or in barrack-like structures called *tais*, a communal dwelling, sheltering under a single roof an entire clan of from fifty to eighty families, each with its separate rooms opening off a central hall. The heavy forest growth on the hill slopes is laboriously cleared away with primitive implements, so as to form little patches of cultivation, where sufficient rice is grown for home consumption. The plant raised is a different variety from that of the plains, capable of dispensing with the standing water which is a *sine quâ non* for the culture of the latter. The plot, in addition to the labour required for freeing it from the rapid growth of weeds, must be carefully fenced as a protection against the inroads of deer and wild pig, but the crop has an enemy still more difficult to guard against in the jungle fowl and other birds. The Karens, who are a brave and hardy race, are the only professional hunters in Burma, and go about from place to place to exterminate noxious and dangerous beasts. The ordinary village houses are of the Burman type, raised on poles above the ground, with an inner sleeping apartment screened round with mats, and an outer room open on three sides, while the gaps between the planks of the floor are utilised for the disposal of all rubbish and refuse. The author during his visit to one of these settlements, was attended throughout all the processes of his toilet by a watchful crowd of all ages and sexes, who manifested the liveliest interest in his proceedings. Many of them have been converted to Christianity and sing English hymn tunes in sweet true voices. When on the march, they carry a long fringed bag, hanging nearly to the knees, and a long sausage of rice passed over one shoulder and

* "In the Shadow of the Pagoda." By E. D. Cuming. London: Allen. 1893.

fastened at the waist. The dress of the Karen girls is pretty, and the decoration of a bead necklace never fails to add to its effect. The upper garment consists of a dark cloth jacket, cut open in a peak at the front and back, embroidered with scroll designs in coloured thread, edged with narrow red and white braid or with spangles. The lower covering resembles the drapery of the Burmese women, but is generally of more sober colours.

Slavery in East Africa.—Captain Lugard, among other interesting and valuable matter contained in his book,* gives rather a discouraging account of the result of the English anti-slavery policy in East Africa. The abolition of domestic slavery in Zanzibar has, according to him, remained a dead-letter, the edict of August 1st, 1890, decreeing its extinction, having been rescinded by a secret proclamation issued twenty days later, through fear of a rising of the inhabitants against it. The treaty of 1873 prohibiting the import of slaves into the territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar has proved equally ineffective, since it is evaded by the smuggling of some 3000 yearly, and only recently the Sultan's own steamer, the *Kilwa*, was captured with a cargo on board. Captain Lugard advocates, not compulsory emancipation, which would in many cases inflict on the slaves themselves a hardship greater than that imposed on their masters, but a law abolishing the legal status of slavery, rendering their forcible detention impossible, by depriving the owners of all right to reclaim them. Such a system, combined with industrial colonies for fugitive slaves, like that established at Bagamoyo and other missions, would in his view be the best possible solution of the problem. The demand which feeds the internal slave-trade would cease with the abolition of the legal right of ownership, and the institution would die a natural death with the gradual progress of civilisation.

The attempt to suppress the internal slave-trade in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyassa has, according to the author, been equally futile, despite the gallant struggle made by a handful of Europeans under his leadership to drive the Arabs from their fortified positions in 1887-89. Their partial success was not sufficiently supported to give it permanent effect, and the treaty subsequently concluded by Mr. Johnston, on October 22nd, 1889, was not only a partial surrender of all they had gained, but has never been put in force. A series of reverses befell the small British force in 1892 and 1893, and

* "The Rise of our East African Empire." By F. D. Lugard. Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1893.

early in the latter year it was only rescued from capture by the arrival of a party of the German Anti-Slavery Society, under Baron von Eltz. By the peace then concluded the Shiré was reopened to navigation, and the successful launching of a gunboat on the Lake will, it is hoped, ameliorate the position. At the northern end of Lake Nyassa the Arabs had practically regained their supremacy, and slave caravans were being freely ferried across.

Transport in East Africa.—Captain Lugard points out that by a decree of the Sultan of Zanzibar, issued on September 11th, 1891, and countersigned by Sir Gerald Portal, "all recruitment or enlistment of soldiers, coolies, or porters, for service beyond his Highness's dominions, is and remains strictly forbidden." As there is no other means of transport available, since the tribes of the interior supply no porters, this decree renders the despatch of caravans except through German territory absolutely illegal, and would, if it were not practically disregarded, cut off communication with Uganda and the Lakes. Sir Gerald Portal's own mission, escorted by a caravan of Zanzibaris, was a contravention of the edict, which would if acted upon have produced a deadlock, rendering impossible the supply of stores or relief to the Europeans in the interior. The measure, intended to check the drain on the population of Zanzibar by the increasing number of expeditions recruited there, should have been supplemented by others if intended to be seriously enforced. The prohibition of Swahili native caravans would, in Captain Lugard's opinion, be a great boon, as they not only carry on the illicit slave-trade, but demoralise the people with whom they come in contact as well. The road through the German sphere is not interfered with under this restrictive legislation, as there the requisite portage is furnished by tribes from the interior. The remedy for all these inconveniences would be found in the construction of the railway from Mombasa, and Captain Lugard advocates the immediate commencement of that section of 208 miles which would carry the traveller across the unhealthy littoral zone to the foot of the internal plateau. The cost of this portion would be but £626,000 as opposed to £2,240,000 for the entire length to Lake Victoria. Beyond this point there is, he thinks, no reason why transport animals, preferably mules or camels, should not be used pending the completion of the railway. On a portion of the route a cart road would be practicable, and this easier section should for the present be completed by a bridle-path practicable for pack animals. Relays of the latter should be available at established

stations, in order to give them the necessary rest. Donkeys are used by most caravans, and do wonderfully well considering the very unfavourable conditions they are exposed to, from want of proper food, ill-fitting gear, and continuous work. All beasts of burden should also be tended by men accustomed to the care of animals, which the ordinary Zanzibari is not, rendering the importation of trained drivers a necessity. The zebra, which abounds in the country, would, in his opinion, be capable of domestication.

Notes on Foreign Periodicals.

ITALY.

La Civiltà Cattolica. *Agosto-Novembre.* Quad. 1035-1041.—This quarter of the *Civiltà* presents its readers with a variety of topics. Politics, history, archaeology, literary criticism, ethnography, astronomy, metaphysics, and fiction have a place in the numbers which lie before us. We mention fiction last because we wish to say that the *Civiltà* serial is unlike the usual product of the imagination in more points than one. First, it is extremely unconventional. Jules Verne broke new ground by transporting himself into times towards the Day of Judgment and worked up wonderful possibilities. Why should not the *Civiltà* go back to prehistoric times, away from the vulgar ruts of the common romancer's waggon, and lay his plot on the bare bones of early Assyrian civilisation? Poets and painters have extensive privileges—*quidquid audendi*—conferred upon them by classic authority. Why should not the bold step of analysing human feelings and unfolding poor old human nature back in the East be also allowed? Add to this the sidelights thrown on Assyrian and in general Oriental life in these early days. This we find in "The Morrow of the Flood." "The Migrations of the Hittites" continues to unfold with stupendous learning and critical acumen the history of that ancient race. "The Copernican System in the Time of Galileo and To-day" deals with the system of Copernicus as against that of Ptolemy. The widespread acceptance of the latter and the persistence with which it was clung to, afford a striking example of the quasi-instinctive conservatism of the human mind. It also is a

gentle reminder to Catholics to beware of doing a thing at once unscholarly and uncatholic—i.e., to link the Church with opinions outside her domain, and to forelose questions which the Church has wisely left open.

There is a series of articles in the *Civiltà* which cannot be read without pain. We refer to those bearing on and illustrating the internal condition of Italy, and the working of political influence in the peninsula. They are "The Bank Scandals," "The Failure of Liberalism," "Ideal Democracy and Democracy as It Is," "Rome III. on its Twenty-third Birthday."

The bibliography of the *Civiltà* covers a wide range of literature. We notice with pleasure that the "Making of Italy," by The O'Clery, is reviewed in a very favourable sense. "Come fu fatta l'Italia," per The O'Clery, ex-deputato al Parlamento Inglese, can now be had at Italian bookstalls. We also wish to draw the attention of colleges, professors of the ecclesiastical sciences, and theologians to a very valuable collection of the conclusions and resolutions of the Congregation of the Council of Trent from its foundation 1574 to 1860. It is edited by Dr. Pallottini, the well-known *advocatus in curia Romana*, and whether viewed from the facilities afforded for drawing on authentic sources, or the well-known reputation of the compiler, is a standard work on the Tridentine Decrees as explained by the Congregation charged with the special function of elucidating the book of laws which we might call a *jus novum* dating from Trent.

SPANISH PERIODICALS.

BY REV. JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

La Ciudad de Dios.—The subjects treated in this magazine during the past six months have fallen somewhat below the average level of interest. El P. José de las Cuevas, under the title "*Las escuelas económicas en su aspecto filosófico*," makes some very pertinent remarks on the political and economic theories of the great English writers, Bentham, Mill, Malthus, and Say (who, at all events, spent his youth in England), and others. He explains their respective views, and, where they differ, he confronts one authority with another. Thus, on the important question of rent, he points how Dr. Anderson and Ricardo are in direct opposition to the American Carey, and to Bastiat. He weighs the arguments of each, and puts the reader in a fairly impartial position to draw his own conclusions. The conclusions the writer himself draws, we would find it difficult

ourselves to accept, at least without modifications, which there is not time now to specify.

El P. Salvador Pons gives an interesting and a glowing account of the Philippine Islands, with special reference to their aboriginal inhabitants, their produce and commercial capabilities, which seem to be very considerable.

El P. H. del Val continues his commentary upon the Pentateuch, with a view of showing from independent sources the accuracy and historical value of the inspired Mosaic writings. Speaking of the plagues of Egypt, P. del Val remarks that it is not to be wondered at that no special reference to them occurs in any documents yet found, since they were not really supernatural in character. "The plagues of Egypt were not phenomena altogether out of the common (*completamente extraordinarios*). They were calamities both ordinary and very frequent in those regions. They occur even at the present day as in the time of Moses, with this only difference, viz., that in the time of the Exodus they were miraculously multiplied and intensified in order to overcome the obstinacy of Pharaoh."

The only plague which can be accounted in itself miraculous and supernatural was the sudden death of the first-born of every family throughout Egypt. According to the Bible, even the eldest son of Pharaoh himself was no exception; and of that fact we find clear indications in Egyptian archaeology. We learn that, on Min-Phtah's death, soon after these evils had come upon the country, he was not succeeded by his eldest, but by his second son. This is especially worthy of notice, since archaeological history states that the eldest son of this monarch had been already associated with him on the throne of Egypt even in his father's lifetime. In fact, a colossal statue preserved in the Museum of Berlin represents Pharaoh Min-Phtah accompanied by his first-born, who bears, like his father, the royal insignia with this inscription—*Repá Seps*, associated with the throne. How is it that this royal son, who shared the kingly power with his father during his lifetime, should on his father's death have resigned it in favour of his younger brother? Archaeological science has been unable to assign any reason whatsoever. For a lucid explanation we must turn to the author of Exodus. Moses has left it on record in the following passage:

"And it came to pass at midnight the Lord slew every first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh, who sat on his throne, unto the first-born of the captive woman that was in the prison, and all the first-born of cattle" (xii. 29).

This we quote as an illustration of the manner in which the

learned Augustinian Father brings his knowledge of antiquity to substantiate and enforce the truths of Holy Writ.

From the science of hermeneutics, El P. J. Fernández carries our thoughts away to a very different science—the science of *aéronautics*. Under the heading, “Los Globos,” he treats us to a remarkably fascinating paper on balloons, and on the efforts men have made from time to time to navigate the sky. He describes in a few forcible words the truly awful accidents that have befallen the votaries of this science, and seeks to account in some measure for the tragical end of so many of them. Personally, he is of opinion that some system of directing a balloon through the air will certainly be devised sooner or later. The possibilities of science are almost inexhaustible; and we know as yet very little of the surprises that nature still holds in reserve. He lays down nine necessary qualities that a balloon should possess, which the reader must consult for himself. These once realised, El P. Fernández thinks the difficulty of steering the floating car would soon be overcome.

D. José Solano, Marquis of Socorro, contributes a learned geological paper on the volcanic district of Naples, in which he gives us *un coup d'œil* of the history of Vesuvius and its more remarkable eruptions, most of which have proved so disastrous to human life and so destructive to towns and cities.

One of the most eloquent and beautifully written papers in the Review, entitled “La Fisiología de las células,” is by P. Zacarías Martínez. It reads as a hymn of praise to the Creator of the Universe, and is full of sound reason as well as of sentiment and poetry. The spirited author points to the beauty, variety, and marvellousness of the creation, and makes each object reflect for us the wisdom and power of God, from the gigantic whale—

“Que alza dos ríos de agua hasta los cielos
Y agita el mar del Norte al rebullirse,”

down to the tiny workers that have built up the hundreds of coral isles now studding the tropical seas.

We regret that space will not permit us to translate the whole essay. To make a single extract would only produce an unfavourable impression.

Notices of Books.

John Keble: A Biography. By WALTER LOCK, M.A., Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College, and Sub-Warden of Keble College, Oxford. Methuen & Co., 18 Bury Street, London, W.C. 1893. 8vo, pp. 245.

NO one would care to confess that he was unacquainted with the leading characteristics of Keble's life, his learning, his humility, his generous devotion of himself to the charge of a poor and ignorant country parish, his influence upon the most eminent men which Oxford University has produced during the present century; nevertheless, until the publication of the present work what was known of Keble was known, for the most part, indirectly, and through occasional reference, from the autobiographies and biographies of other men, or from histories of the movement in which he took part; no complete memoir of himself existed. Keble was not the man to insist upon the attention of the world. One who leaves Oxford when at the very height of his fame to busy himself with a few hundreds of Gloucestershire peasants in an obscure curacy, and is unconscious that in so doing he is making any sacrifice at all, is not likely to write autobiographies or to store up materials that others may write his life. So retiring was he, that even those who knew him best were at a loss when called upon to give an account of him. "How shall I profess to paint a man who will not sit for his picture?" said Newman, when asked to describe Keble. The book under notice is the first attempt to place a worthy memoir of Keble before us. The writer had many qualifications for his task, access to documents hitherto unpublished, acquaintance with men who had known Keble intimately and were willing to lend every assistance, a genuine love for his subject, and the unusual gift of being able to write calmly and dispassionately on momentous events which have occasioned the fiercest controversy; and the result is that Mr. Lock has given us a complete and pleasing memoir of a rare and beautiful character.

John and Sebastian Cabot. Biographical Notice with Documents. By FRANCESCO TARDUCCI. Translated from Italian by HENRY F. BROWNSON. Detroit: H. F. Brownson, publisher. 1893. 8vo, pp. 409.

THIS work arrived at a very opportune moment. After Christopher Columbus none had so great a claim to be remembered and celebrated at the Centenary Festivals, recently held in America, as John and Sebastian Cabot, for next in time as in importance to the discovery of the Bahamas and the West Indies by Columbus, was the discovery of the northern part of America by the Cabots. Signor Tarducci displays in this work the historical research and the critical acumen which won so favourable a reception for his "Life of Columbus." Many questions relating to the Cabots which had been left in uncertainty or erroneously solved by previous biographers, receive in this book a satisfactory solution. The Venetian nationality of both John and Sebastian, the discovery by Sebastian of Hudson Strait, Hudson Bay, and Fox Channel are fully established, and Sebastian Cabot is successfully defended from the single serious charge that has been brought against him. Indeed, so full is the book of argument that we should almost resent being so frequently called upon to relinquish the flowing narrative for the noise and din of controversy were it not that the reasonings of our author are so ingenious as to be a real intellectual treat. Signor Tarducci's vindication of the claims of Venice to be considered the birthplace of the Cabots and of the claims of these illustrious discoverers upon the gratitude of mankind, has met with such approval that the original edition of this work in Italian was published at the charge of the Royal Commission of Natural History of Venice. It is interesting to contrast the interest shown by Venice in these sons of hers who, illustrious sons though they were, by their very discoveries deprived her of her commercial greatness with the neglect of the Cabots by England which acquired the commercial sceptre thus wrested from the hands of Venice.

We know nothing [says Tarducci] of when or where he [Sebastian] died, nor even the spot where he was buried. England, wholly occupied in coursing the seas over which he had directed her, had no time to remember or mark the sepulchre of the man to whose powerful initiative she owes the wealth and power which have placed her amongst the foremost nations of the world. What is still worse, her historical literature, so rich in quantity and quality, has not a book in which his life and work are investigated and studied profoundly and at as great length as possible, although her writers have at times proclaimed his greatness and protested the gratitude due to him from the English nation. In the first half of the last century Campbell wrote: "With strict justice it may be said of Sebastian Cabot that he was the author of our maritime strength, and

opened the way to those improvements which have rendered us so great, so eminent, so flourishing a people."

It is also interesting to know the reason which led the England of Cabot's day to attach so much importance to the discovery of British North America.

One proof of what the new regions would produce was the discovery that the sea was extraordinarily rich in fish; a discovery which we might be almost indifferent to in the nineteenth century, but at the time of Cabot was joyful news for England, because a certain source of great wealth for the nation. In those days every Christian people scrupulously observed the Commandments of the Church; and in the strict observance by everybody of Lent and the Vigils, fish had become a commodity of prime necessity for all Christians. Iceland lived off their commerce, Norway and the Baltic shores saw no ships but those engaged in taking or conveying fish. It is easy then to understand how pleasant to English ears was the declaration of the discoverers that the sea was full of fish.

As to the translation, when we have said that it is the work of a literary man of such repute as Mr. Henry F. Brownson, we have said that it is excellent. We trust that the book will have a wide circulation.

History of the Church in England from the beginning of the Christian Era to the Accession of Henry VIII. By MARY H. ALLIES. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1892. 8vo, pp. 371.

THIS is a short and very readable, though not in any sense a critical history. There are many interesting passages in the book, but none make such good reading as those which refer to St. Hugh, of Lincoln, who in his directness of speech, sturdy courage, and sterling manhood, was the Bishop Ullathorne of the twelfth century. St. Hugh had excommunicated Geoffrey, King Henry's chief forester, and had repulsed the royal messengers sent to press him to bestow a vacant canonry on one of the King's friends, and was in consequence summoned to Woodstock to receive tokens of the King's displeasure.

The meeting was studiously planned. Henry was sitting with his courtiers in a semicircle around him. No one was to rise on the Bishop's coming in, nor to give him any salutation whatever, and as for Henry himself, he meant Hugh to see and to feel how angry he could be. As the Bishop advanced with his usual greeting, he was met by silence, but he made his way in spite of it to the King's side. Henry, in forced unconcern, ordered some one present to bring him a needle and thread, and then began to use them, or to toy with them, on a small bit of cloth, which was hanging round his own royal finger. The Bishop watched him in silence for some minutes, and knowing very well what it all meant, made the astonishing remark:—"How much you are now like your Falaise relations." This appealed to the King's sense of humour, and instead of being angry he broke out into a hearty laugh. He turned

to his courtiers saying, "Do you understand how this barbarian has insulted us? I will explain his words. The mother of my ancestor William, the conqueror of this country, was of low birth, and belonged to the famous Norman city of Falaise. Because this derider saw me sewing up my finger he taunted me with being like those Falaise people, and related to them."

St. Hugh was as brusque with Cœur de Lion as he had been with his bull-necked father. But Richard also loved a man, and the plain speaking of the bishop won his regard. "If all bishops were like this one," said Richard to his courtiers, "no prince or king would dare to defy them." Royal compliments, however, had as little effect upon the Saint as royal displeasure or royal threats. Richard on one occasion demanded a large sum of money from the clergy. Archbishop Hubert was prepared to support the king's demand, but not so St. Hugh. "Do you not know," said Hubert, "that my lord the king thirsts for money as the dropsical man for water?" "He may be a dropsical man," replied St. Hugh, "but I am not prepared to supply him or other dropsical patients with water."

In many respects a very excellent little history is this work of Miss Allies. We think, however, that the writer would have done better had she avoided discussing difficult questions where she has not provided the most adequate solution. An instance of a difficulty unnecessarily raised and unsatisfactorily met may be found on page 111, where the writer refers to the teaching of Aelfric, the translator on Transubstantiation.

Annals of Winchester College. By T. F. KIRBY, M.A., F.S.A.
8vo, pp. 549. London: Henry Frowde; Winchester: P. and G. Wells.

IN the above volume Mr. T. Kirby, the bursar of the Winchester College, has given to the public in a series of annals the story of the great school of William of Wykeham from its foundation in 1382 to the present day. The author has devoted his opening chapter to an interesting account of the circumstances under which the school was founded. Here the reader may feel something of disappointment at being carried at once into the midst of the active measures which led to the foundation of the school, without any adequate introduction to the personality of William of Wykeham. No doubt the function of an annalist is not that of a biographer, and the concern of the latter must be somewhat less with men and more with events and institutions. Yet we take it, that even the most fervid lover of the plunge in *medias res* would have easily pardoned

[No. 9 of *Fourth Series*.]

N

an introductory chapter which would have refreshed his memory on the main acts of the founder's life, and deepened his living acquaintance with the character and genius of the great fourteenth-century bishop of whose educational zeal the Winchester School is the fruit and the monument. As it is, the author brings out the fact that the larger institution at Winchester, with its charters and endowments, had its predecessor in a small school composed of poor grammar students, which William of Wykeham supported for several years out of his private bounty. Perhaps some of the heads of our Catholic colleges may care to take note of the fact that the master of even this little grammar school in pre-Reformation times, when facilities for travel were so much more limited, was by the terms of his agreement allowed to go in pilgrimage to Rome (at his own cost) at least once in the ten years covered by his contract. The preliminary steps which led up to the greater foundation described in this chapter may be summarised as five:—1. The obtaining of a Bull of Foundation from the reigning Pope Urban VI. 2. The procuring of a Royal licence from Richard II. to acquire, notwithstanding the Statute of Mortmain, a site and build a "hall or college to the praise of God and of the glorious Virgin Mary, His mother, in whose honour this said college is founded." 3. The appointment of a head-master and the admission of seventy scholars. 4. The obtaining of no less than twelve different Bulls from the Holy See, securing to the college various privileges and immunities. 5. The strengthening of the endowments by the purchase of additional property, and notably of the lands of the alien priories.

The chapter on the fabric contains an interesting account of the college chapel. In 1415 a new rood gallery was erected, with its figure of Christ crucified and images of our Blessed Lady and St. John. The local artists appear to have been found unequal to the task, as the whole structure was carved and painted in London. The carving cost 48*s.* 4*d.*; the painting, £4 10*s.* 4*d.*; the carriage and sundries, £4 0*s.* 4*d.*, altogether £10 19*s.*, or more than £100 of modern money.

A chapter on the statutes gives a brief summary of the regulations which were carefully drawn up by William of Wykeham for the constitution and government of the school, and which Henry VI. so admired that he made them the model for the statutes of his own foundation at Eton. The two following chapters deal with the "founder's kin" and "commoners." The author then proceeds with what may be more strictly termed the annals of the college, and chronicles the chief matters of note under the reign of the successive

wardens. Here Mr. Kirby has in the happiest way enriched his account with a wealth of interesting matter from the computus rolls, and the reader has presented to him details as to furniture and prices which enable him to form for himself a graphic picture of college life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The following, for instance, is a sacristy account in 1412, which many of our clergy or sacristans would recognise in a moment as the true ancestors of their own :

	£	s.	d.
1015 wafers	0	7	10
25 flagons and 1 pottle of red wine at 5 <i>d.</i> or 6 <i>d.</i> per flagon	0	13	5
9 flagons and 1 pottle of oil for the lamp over the high altar at 16 <i>d.</i> and 12 <i>d.</i> per flagon	0	11	2
250 lbs. of wax	6	0	4
Edward Chandler, making it into candles	0	15	2½
4 doz. wax candles for the choir	0	5	4
24 ells of linen at 8 <i>d.</i> or 7 <i>d.</i> to make napkins, albs, and amices	0	19	0
3 pieces of "bokeram"	0	0	9
Buttes (hassocks) for the stalls	0	0	3
Glazier mending windows	0	0	12
11 lbs. of rope for great bell	0	0	16
Making and binding an Anthem book (Antiphonarium?)	0	2	6
Agnes Lambert, hemming four albs and six amices	0	2	0
John Overton, making 2 copies of "History of Our Lord's Body," and the "Life of St. Anne"	0	3	4

Nearly five centuries have passed, and ways and prices have changed since Edward the chandler dealt with the £6 worth of wax, and since Agnes Lambert hemmed the albs and amices, but the main features of the Catholic sacristy remain wonderfully the same.

An inventory of the Church goods in 1525, covering nearly ten pages, puts before us a gorgeous picture of the splendour of sacred plate and vestments at the college chapel. The momentous changes which the Reformation under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth wrought upon the life of the Winchester School, and the manner in which wardens like White, and schoolmasters like Hyde, received the new religion, are matters of deep historical interest. It could have been wished that Mr. Kirby had seen his way to give them more than a brief passing notice.

Not the least valuable part of the work is to be found in the documents given in the appendix. Here is given the Papal Bull of Foundation embodied in the licence of the Papal commissioner, the Bishop of Rochester. It is followed by the Royal licence, and by the charter of the founder, in which he wishes the College to be known during all future time as the "Seinte Marye College of

Wynchester." We have also here the supremely interesting text of the statutes drawn up by William of Wykeham himself, and occupying nearly seventy pages. The most important of these to the Catholic reader will be statutes xxviii. and xxix., which regulate the services in the College Chapel. Besides High Mass and the Divine Office, prayers and psalms were to be daily said for the dead, and no less than seven masses were to be offered each day in perpetuity for the soul of the founder, for his parents and kindred, and for other intentions. Side by side with these conditions of prayers and masses so earnestly and peremptorily insisted on, we may read the statement in which the author correctly summarises the conclusion of these statutes when he says :

Reserving to himself the power of altering statutes as long as he lives, Wykeham declares that *it shall not be lawful for any successor of his in the See of Winchester, or for the Warden and Fellows, to repeal, alter, or make anew any statutes, or to construe any statute, otherwise than in the plain, natural, and grammatical sense, or to make other statutes repugnant to them.**

To writers like Mr. Kirby, who help to lay open to the public the store of historical material connected with this most ancient and Catholic foundation, we owe a deep debt of gratitude, and while we naturally feel that in a book of this kind there are some things which are left unsaid, and parts of the picture which are not filled up, we welcome it and commend it as an instalment of that excellent work which is being zealously done in our day for the history of the pre-Reformation Church in England.

J. M.

Anecdota Oxoniensia. Semitic Series I. 5. The Palestinian Version of the Holy Scriptures: Five More Fragments.
 Edited, with Introduction and Annotations, by G. H. Gwilliam,
 B.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1893.

THE somewhat slender monograph before us is by no means the first contribution which Mr. Gwilliam has made to our knowledge of the Syriac Versions of the New Testament, and possibly we shall be doing a service to some of our readers if we couple our brief notice of his most recent contribution to the "*Anecdota Oxoniensia*" with some account of his previous labours in the same field. As a fellow-worker with the late Mr. Philip Pusey, and afterwards as the custodian of that promising scholar's *Syriac collectanea*, Mr. Gwilliam has done more than any man living towards the systematic collation

* P. 92, Statute XLVI. (The italics are ours.)

of the rich treasure of Syriac Biblical MSS. (chiefly belonging to the Tattam collection) which are preserved in the British Museum. Some of the results of his investigations he has made public in three papers contributed to the Oxford "Studia Biblica" (i. 151 sqq.; ii. 241 sqq.; iii. 47 sqq.), and from the first and third of these papers we shall draw freely in what follows.

The Peshitto text of the New Testament as it is now known to us from the printed editions, is substantially identical with that of the *Editio princeps* of Widmanstadt (Vienna, 1555), the emendations introduced by Schaaf (Leyden, 1708) and Wichelhaus ("De N. T. Versione Syriaca," &c., Halle, 1850) being relatively few and unimportant. Hence it was not to be wondered at that among scholars who were familiar with the extent of the textual variations presented by Greek and Latin MSS. of the New Testament some should have supposed that Syriac MSS. would be found to present similar variations, and should have declined to accept the printed text of the Peshitto as anything better than a witness to the readings of a few relatively late MSS. very imperfectly collated. Others, on the contrary, thought that the Textus Receptus of the Peshitto, although possessing but slender support from external authority, "being incapable of verification from patristic quotations, &c., is, nevertheless, substantially correct; that the ancient witnesses to which we now have access would only demand that we should make a few changes in the text of Widmanstadt, and these chiefly in points of grammar and orthography" (*S. B.* i. 152). As long, however, as these opposite opinions rested on conjecture they were of little or no real value; and the best thanks of biblical students are due to Mr. P. E. Pusey and to Mr. Gwilliam for having brought them to the test of actual diplomatic evidence.

Of the Syriac MSS. of the New Testament now in the British Museum, "there are eighty-five bearing dates ranging between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 411, besides many bearing later dates." This habit of affixing dates to their codices, which is characteristic of Syriac scribes, makes it comparatively easy to assign undated MSS. to the century to which they belong. Accordingly, Mr. Gwilliam is able confidently to ascribe to the fifth century a copy of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark (MS. Add. 14459 A) of which he has made a very special study, the results of which study he has been able to check by comparison with several dated and undated codices of the sixth and seventh centuries. The outcome of his investigations is to the effect that the Syriac MSS. of the New Testament show a far closer textual uniformity than do the Greek, and that consequently—though a critical edition of the Peshitto is

most desirable, and will, it may be hoped, shortly be forthcoming at the hands of Mr. Gwilliam himself—the Syriac Textus Receptus represents, in almost every particular which affects the sense, the singularly fixed and stereotyped text which the Syrian churches have used since the fourth century, and probably since a still earlier time. For the concurrent evidence of so many MSS. written in different monasteries, and by men of different sects (Monophysites, Nestorians, &c.), conclusively points to a long textual ancestry reaching back far beyond the age of the oldest extant codex.

So far, we think, Mr. Gwilliam is on safe ground. His premisses, so far as we have examined them, appear to us abundantly to support the conclusion that the Peshitto is not, as some had supposed, “the gradually formed product of a series of successive revisions” (*S. B.* iii. 73). When, however, he further argues that the Peshitto cannot be regarded as a result of a revision of the Curetonian, and disputes the right of the Curetonian to the title of “Old Syriac,” we cannot quite follow him. By an ingenious typographical device he has partially exhibited (*S. B.* iii. 85) the relation of the Peshitto to the Curetonian in the passage St. Matt. v. 31–48, the parts in which the two versions are identical being printed in Maronite type; those in which P differs from C in Estrangelo. The divergences are no doubt striking, but why does Mr. Gwilliam say [italics ours] “The problem is to account for the many divergences”? Rather, we should say, *the* problem is to account for the very large proportion of verbal coincidence; a problem which admits of only two possible solutions—either P is derived from C, or (which hardly any one will hold) *vice versa*, C has been derived from P. It is difficult to see what limits as regards divergence can be imposed on a reviser working under unknown conditions. It is impossible to decide *a priori* how far he would feel himself at liberty to reconstruct the version upon which he was working. But such an amount of verbal agreement as is exhibited by the Peshitto and the Curetonian cannot, we are convinced, be accounted for on any hypothesis of an independent origin. Of the kind of results achieved by independent translators we have an excellent example in the Palestinian Syriac as compared with the Peshitto.

Of the origin of the Palestinian version of the Scriptures, and of the date at which it was made, nothing is known.

The *Syro-Palestinian* dialect contains: (a) Many Chaldee words and forms, some Hebrew words, and a few adapted from Arabic and Greek. (β) Grammatical forms [e.g., the use of *jodh* not *nun* in the formation of the future], nearly all of which are also Chaldaic. (γ) Roots used in a sense not common in ordinary Syriac. (δ) Some terms and forms of words which appear to be exclusively Palestinian (p. xxiv).

But it is not merely in dialectical form, or the occasional use of synonyms that the Palestinian version differs from the Peshitto. The whole structure of the sentences is different, and "such agreement as exists appears to be accidental, and due to the identity of the underlying Greek"; besides which "it can hardly be doubted that the Palestinian . . . represents a different form of Greek text" from that to which the Peshitto bears witness (p. xv).

The largest and most important portion of the Palestinian Version is an *Evangelistarium* in the Vatican which was described by Adler in his "*Versiones Syriacæ*" (1789), and edited by Miniscalchi Erizzo, under the title "*Evangelium Hierosolymitanum*," in 1861-64, and again by De Lagarde in his "*Bibliotheca Syriaca*," published posthumously last year. A number of fragments, preserved in London and at St. Petersburg, have been published by Land in the fourth volume of his "*Anecdota Syriaca*" (Leyden, 1875); and eleven verses of Galatians, discovered by Professor Rendel Harris on Mount Sinai in 1889, were printed by him in his "*Biblical Fragments from Mount Sinai*" (1890). It was therefore most desirable that the five remaining fragments, embracing some sixty verses in all, from Numbers, Colossians, 1 Thess., 2 Tim. and Titus, which have recently found their way to the Bodleian, should also be made accessible to biblical students. Nor could they have found a more competent editor than Mr. Gwilliam.

In one very important particular, among others, the Palestinian falls far short of the Peshitto in interest and importance. In summing up his argument concerning the textual stability of the Peshitto, Mr. Gwilliam writes :

The importance of these facts and inferences in their bearing upon the criticism of the Greek Testament is obvious. It has hitherto been an easy task to disparage the authority of the Peshitto by the retort that we can only quote it in evidence as it has come down to us; we do not know what it read in the third and fourth centuries. Recent investigations, of which a specimen is given in this paper, enable us to trace back the text of the Peshitto to the very verge of St. Ephraem's days, and we think that we can follow the stream much further yet. . . . That is to say (not to *overstate* the case), at the period when the celebrated uncial Greek MSS. of the New Testament were written, we find the Syrian Church accepting a text which is not altogether in accordance with them, but which rather inclines to that type of text which most modern critics have rejected in favour of one based on these uncial MSS., and in particular on two of them, codices \aleph and B. (These two MSS. are, as the reader knows, responsible for most of the innovations introduced by the Revisers of the Anglican Bible.) It is not within the scope of this paper to weigh the evidence of those great codices against that of the venerable versions adopted in the Churches of the East. It may be (no opinion is now offered on the point) that the early Syrian Church was so unfortunate as to possess a very corrupt Vulgate. But it is to be observed

that we must commit ourselves to that view if we resolve (with the Revisers) to base our text on the evidence of a few early Greek MSS. alone and always to reject the evidence of the Peshitto where it disagrees with them. (S. B. i. 169, 170.)

On the very interesting critical question here raised, the Palestinian Version—if we may judge from the fragments just published—throws hardly any light at all. The text of the fragments favours \aleph against B twice, and B against \aleph three times. The combination \aleph B is followed five times, and in four cases deserted. "The text harmonises with the Peshitto, in opposition to the Harclean some seven times . . . it sometimes sides with these versions against the Greek MSS., and sometimes opposes them." In a word, "the Greek text used by the translator must have been a curious intermixture of Western and other types" (p. xx., note by Mr. E. N. Bennett). When the newly found "Old Syrian" version of the Gospels is made accessible—which we hope will be within a few months—we shall await with interest Mr. Gwilliam's verdict on its relation to the Peshitto, and to the great problem of New Testament textual criticism.

History of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall. By the Very Rev. BERNARD WARD, President. Kegan Paul & Co. 1893.

THIS is a book of exceptional interest. Appearing as it does in the centenary year of the re-establishment of St. Edmund's as an ecclesiastical college, the intrinsic interest of the history is heightened by the celebrations which have recently attracted so much attention in Catholic England. Had St. Edmund's been a mere house of Catholic education, its vicissitudes through the perilous times from which we have recently emerged would have found a wide circle of attentive and sympathetic readers. Its position as the chief ecclesiastical seminary of the south, and the source from which London and the home counties mainly drew their clergy from 1793 to 1869, makes its history for the last hundred years the history to a great degree of the Catholic Church in the dioceses of Westminster, Southwark, and Portsmouth. The break up of Douay and St. Omer in the autumn of 1793, the subsequent adventures of students and superiors, their arrival in England, the modest beginning made by Bishop Douglas at Old Hall in November, 1793, the differences between north and south, are nothing short of exciting. Many a familiar and venerable name, hitherto hardly more than a mere *magni nominis umbra*, becomes a living reality as we

follow the chequered story told in these pages. The author laments his want of literary skill, but there is a directness in the narrative which would have been ill exchanged for an attempt at fine writing. The appendices are numerous, and set off admirably such points in the text as most obviously invite fuller treatment. The prints are another attractive feature in the book, and it is well indexed.

The author refers to the hasty correction of the proof sheets; several slips are noticeable: *e.g.*, *is*, bottom of page 1; questionable constructions, as on page 4, line 5 from bottom, page 38, line 3; "the name . . . survive," page 58, *note*; the use of "allude to," page 205, line 6; the amusing sentence beginning "The sale, &c.," page 235, &c. &c. These blemishes are soon removed, and no doubt will disappear when a new edition is called for. On page 272 the story of the "Two Rings" is slightly altered from its ordinary shape, and on the next page Mabel is not represented as drawing the three circles on the palm of the Saint's hand. Perhaps this latter detail or omission of detail is due to the mode of treatment in the window described.

It is to be hoped that some son of St. Cuthbert's will soon do for his northern *Alma Mater* what Father Ward has done so admirably for St. Edmund's. Of the book and the venerable institution which it describes, *felix faustumque sit*.

Analecta Hymnica medii ævi. XIVa. Hymnarius Severianus.

XIVb. Origo Scarrabarozzi's Liber Officiorum. Herausgegeben von GUIDO MARIA DRÈVES, S.J. Leipzig: Reisland. 1893.

FR. DRÈVES continues his admirable work of collecting and publishing the all but inexhaustible treasures of mediæval hymns (*DUBLIN REVIEW*, vol. cx. p. 217), and has given to the public two more volumes. The first part contains the hymns of the Abbey of St. Severin, near Naples, where the Benedictines flourished in the tenth century and where the valuable Codex used for this work was written about A.D. 1000. Fr. Drèves has consulted and compared the Codex Vatican 1172, and the Parisinus 1092, both of which contain the collection of hymns referred to. The text is suitably prefaced by a learned dissertation attributing the Codex to the early date above mentioned, and characterising the hymns as very ancient from the total absence of rhyme. The number of hymns amounts to 142. The second part, exhibiting in addition to single hymns whole offices, is in the possession of the Metropolitan Chapter of Milan, and bears the name of Origo Scarrabarozzi, who was archpriest of Milan in 1286. Fr. Drèves is to be

congratulated on his excellent work, destined as it is to unearth the hidden wealth of a period which too long has been suffering from abundant misconception.

Monumenta Germaniæ Historica. Epistolæ Merovingici et Carolini ævi. Tomus I. Berolini, 1892. Kl. Folio, 760 pp.

THE famous collection of the literary monuments for illustrating German history from A.D. 500 to A.D. 1500 for several years, has been making rapid progress under the editorship of Professor Ernst Dümmler, of the Berlin University. The immense value of this vast undertaking is generally known. The literary documents are being issued by the best German scholars, all manuscripts within the reach of research are duly compared and then subjected to the test of modern critical methods, in order to secure such editions as may provide the student with a trustworthy text. To English readers the above volume commends itself for two reasons. It contains the epistles and poems of Columbanus, and the letters of St. Boniface and Lullus. For the edition of Columbanus we are indebted to Dr. Gundlach, who has thoroughly well fulfilled his task. After a critical review of the various manuscripts, from which we single out for its peculiar importance the Codex Parisinus, we have the text of the letters connected for the most part with the Paschal controversy. Every document is headed by a summary epitomising its contents, whilst two kinds of foot-notes point out either mere critical notes or biblical and historical elucidations. The latter seem singularly well fitted to illustrate the text. To the already extant epistles of Columbanus, Dr. Gundlach has succeeded in adding a newly discovered letter which he found in Paris (pp. 177-178) and which contains the answer to Boniface IV.'s summons to Columbanus to express his opinion about the question as to the ceremonies of the Old Testament, *quid spiritualiter observari debeat, quid secundum litteram reprobari*. It was in 1890 when Gundlach published this letter in the *Neues Archiv*. x., 84. The same praise is to be bestowed on the edition of the letters either written by, or sent to, St. Boniface and Lullus (pp. 215-433). Professor Dümmler, author of a work on the Empire of Charlemagne, is the editor of these epistles. Excellent as was the edition by the late Dr. Jaffé, it seems to be now superseded by that of Professor Dümmler. The chronological order of the letters is much better established, the text as based on the comparison of a far larger range of manuscripts is more pure and reliable, and not a few mistakes to be found in former

editions are corrected. Thus the year in which St. Boniface received episcopal consecration is conclusively fixed at A.D. 722, Nov. 30 (p. 227). Students of Irish or English history who wish to do their work accurately, for the future in treating on Columbanus or Boniface will be well advised to depend on the above edition of the letters of these truly great men, who by their character and writings stand forth as two great lights of the seventh and eighth centuries.

B.

Cicero de Oratore. Book I. Translated by E. N. P. MOOR, M.A.
8vo, pp. 108. London: Methuen & Co.

THE translator's aim (as stated in the introduction) is threefold—to reproduce accurately the sense of the Latin, to regard the requirements of the English idiom, and to allow the Ciceronian style, more or less, to dominate his rendering. In all three particulars Mr. Moor appears to have succeeded well. Satisfactory translations of Cicero are not too abundant; and we trust that so finished a scholar as Mr. Moor may see his way to complete the *De Oratore* in a manner correspondent to Book I.

An Architect in Exile, and other Essays. By BERNARD
WHELAN. 8vo, pp. 110. London: Burns & Oates.

THESE are scholarly essays, written with a good deal of poetical taste and elegance. In addition to the architectural subject—to which all is subordinate—the author deals with various incidental topics intelligently, and in a manner which implies considerable insight and observation—and, occasionally, in a smart epigrammatic style. In commendation of the biographical sketch of Pugin ("The Gothic Renaissance"), it will be sufficient to recommend it for perusal. "The oldest of the Arts," descanting on the popular non-appreciation of the modern architect, on the difficulties of his position, on his relation to the ever-changing conditions and new exigencies of life, with his subjection to the manifold force of social influences—and lastly, on his responsibilities—rural, urban, sanitary, &c.—is a highly instructive paper. To enumerate one more, "Mont St. Michel" cannot but have great interest for every Catholic reader. And from this last we offer the following short paragraph as a specimen of the author's composition:

The men of the Middle Ages loved nature with a love as intimate, though differing in form of expression, as any modern: but intense as was their love, it was practical and energetic; to them a lovely knoll

existed that it might be perfected by a still more lovely tower, which should gather to itself all the force and beauty of the surrounding landscape; to them a fertile plain with its level lines was a foil for the rocket-like up-springing of many hundred feet of tapering stone-work; to them a river-brightened valley was made to be the haunt of monasteries whose carved capitals and spandrils should repeat the herbage and flowers, even as the translucent stream did in its own sweet but different way. And when nature, as in Mont St. Michel, put on a more daring mood than usual, the poet-builders caught her spirit and out-dared her own audacity.

On the subject of the "style," a few additional words may be needful. The author sufficiently abounds in somewhat bold figures and contrasts; and of these not a few strike us as happy and effective. A single example must suffice. Describing Lincoln from the point of view of the approaching railway-traveller, he says: "The towered hill of Lincoln swims into sight, like to an enchanted ship on an ocean of land." But here and there throughout these essays there is a peculiarity in the diction which we are not so much taken with. We allude to a superabundant use of less natural—or at any rate, less conventional—modes of expression, with an apparent straining after such; which forms and phrases, however ingenious and original, and serviceable in the way of mental discipline, are yet not calculated (for the generality of us) either to facilitate perusal or to increase the pleasure of it. Greater simplicity and fewer artificialities of language would be to our taste. This is the only adverse criticism we consider it needful to make on a volume otherwise meritorious.

Jean Bréhal et la Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc. Par les
R.R. P.P. BELON ET BALME, des Frères-Prêcheurs. Large 8vo,
pp. 152, 208, 188. Lethielleux. Paris. 1893.

THE great work which Father Belon, professor of Dogmatic Theology at Lyons, and Father Balme, both distinguished members of the Dominican Order, have recently published under the title of "*Jean Bréhal et la Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*," is a monument of patient erudition, historical acumen, and genuine patriotism. Its object, as the authors tell us in the preface, is destined to make known the noble efforts of another Dominican, Jean Bréhal, Great Inquisitor of France, to vindicate the character and memory of the heroic Joan of Arc, and to refute the shocking calumnies which were circulated by her enemies during the whole course of her trial and afterwards. Indirectly, however, the learned authors have a higher object in view. They belong to that great and increasing body of faithful admirers of the heroic Pucelle, whose aim is to

promote in the Church, not only her historical glorification, but also her solemn canonisation by the Holy See. This book is therefore at once a work of erudition and a labour of love. Under both aspects it deserves every praise. The first chapter gives a most interesting account of the efforts made after the death of Jeanne by English diplomacy to justify her execution in the eyes of Europe. It is clear that a general feeling existed that such a justification was much needed. All the British Ambassadors to the various European Courts were directed to inform their respective chancellories of the high political significance of Jeanne's execution, as an act "safeguarding the rights of the State against wilful imposture and gross superstition." The King of England wrote a long letter to the Emperor Sigismund on the subject, and later on he addressed similar apologetic documents to all the Princes of Christendom and to the French Bishops.

It is a fact that those efforts on the part of England did not prove useless. The case of the Pucelle was gradually becoming more and more obscured by the mass of contradictory assertions industriously circulated by the English party. The University of Paris, which had always shown itself opposed to Jeanne both before and after her death, openly sympathised with the views advocated by the English King, and wrote in their favour to the Pope and to the College of Cardinals. Thus the Spiritual Head of Christendom came to be appealed to in a question of great difficulty upon which two Catholic nations were divided.

Years were to elapse before the painful controversy thus raised was to be closed by an authoritative pronouncement of the Roman Pontiff. It is during those years that the Dominican Jean Bréhal contributed so much by his untiring labours and powerful writings to scatter the clouds of falsehood and calumny industriously accumulated by the enemies of the pure French heroine, and to prepare the ground for the triumphant vindication of her character and sanctity by the Vicar of Christ.

Jean Bréhal was born in Normandy in the early years of the fifteenth century. After a most successful course of studies at Evreux, he taught philosophy and theology, and, having been sent to Paris, was soon after appointed to the high office of Inquisitor General of France. Few men have filled this responsible post with more dignity, more learning, and more humanity than Jean Bréhal. He seems to have won the universal esteem and respect of his contemporaries, and to have magnified his office, not by any display of authority, but rather by a constant example of meekness and charity, and by the virtues of a blameless life. Such is the man who, by his very position, was pro-

videntially led to investigate the cause of Jeanne d'Arc, and ended by declaring himself the foremost champion of her honour and sanctity. Those of our readers who are interested in this fascinating subject should turn to the pages of this book for accurate information and for learned commentaries on the various facts which, when brought to light by careful researches and the acute reasoning of Bréhal, successfully demonstrated to Europe and to the Pope the utter baselessness of the fabrications raised against the humble and patriotic maid.

Europe, 1789-1815. By H. MORSE STEPHENS, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford, 8vo, pp. 421. Rivington, Percival & Co. Maps. 6s. London: 1893.

THIS book represents the seventh period in the course of European History published by Messrs. Rivington, Percival & Co., under the editorship of Mr. Arthur Hassall, M.A., of Christ Church, Oxford. It is not too much to say that the present volume is well worthy of its predecessors. To the student of European History such a compendium ought to be particularly welcome, presenting as it does, within reasonable limits and in a most intelligible form, a valuable summary of that highly important but highly complex epoch which extends from the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789 to the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

The period from 1789 to 1815, that is, the era of the French Revolution and of the domination of Napoleon, marks, as Mr. Stephens justly says, one of the most important transitions in the history of Europe; modern principles took their rise during this epoch of transition, and their development underlies the history of the period and gives the key to its meaning.

The author then proceeds to say what these modern principles are. First, the principle of the sovereignty of the people came to be recognised. The eighteenth century had indeed fully asserted that government exists for the sake of the governed, but it had not gone so far as to assert also that government should be administered by the people. Now, on the contrary, says Mr. Stephens, it is believed that the government should be directed by the people through their representatives, and that it is better for a nation to make mistakes in the course of its self-government than to be ruled, be it ever so wisely, by an irresponsible monarch. Certainly this definition of the sovereignty of the people lacks neither accuracy nor humour. It does not assert that popular sovereignty necessarily means ideal perfection. It only says that the people, having obtained the mastery

in the State, mean to be the ruling power, under whatever time-honoured forms the exercise of that power may still be permitted.

The second political belief introduced between 1789 and 1815 is "the recognition of the idea of nationality, in contradiction to that of the State which prevailed in the last century." That idea has taken deep root in Europe. It asserts the existence of national boundaries and of race limits. Thus have been formed during this century new nations resting the *raison d'être* of their existence on the feeling of nationality and the identity of race. Obviously, this second principle is connected with the first. Peoples, impelled by racial affinities, gravitate towards each other, instead of being merely yoked together by the political wisdom of irresponsible monarchs.

The third modern idea which has so deeply affected the life of Europe is the recognition of the principle of personal and individual liberty. This principle led inevitably to the assertion of the other two, and thus were established the foundations of modern European politics.

These considerations afford a basis for all the considerations to which the author is led by the natural course of events. Fairness, candour, and moderation characterise his judgments, and his evident liberal tendencies do not blind him to the transitory good done by men in the name of opposite principles during the period with which he is specially concerned.

Mr. Stephens takes a depressed view of the state of religion in Europe in 1787. "Disbelief in the Christian religion was," he tells us, "general in both the Protestant and Catholic countries of the Continent." This is a very sweeping statement. He even mentions the case of Schutz, the Protestant pastor of Grilsdorf, who openly denied Christianity and taught simply that morality was necessary, but whom the High Consistory of Berlin declared nevertheless still fitted to hold his office as the Lutheran pastor of his village. This Schutz was a man in advance of his times, it would appear. But would Mr. Stephens assert that the England of the present day is totally devoid of Christian religion because so many Protestant ministers in the Establishment, and out of it, are teaching views of Christianity not sharply distinguishable from those of the good pastor of Grilsdorf?

Many readers will also perhaps take exception to the view formed by Mr. Stephens of the character of Robespierre. He declares that Robespierre was "a profoundly religious and virtuous man," and that the chief cause of his hatred of Hébert and Danton was his belief that they were immoral atheists. We confess our inability to follow the author on this point. That Robespierre had a religion of

his own is, of course, certain; that he was a virtuous man, in the usual sense of the word, is much less clear. At any rate, his virtue was apt to assume a ferocious character, and the universal sense of relief experienced by his countrymen when he departed this life would tend to show that they experienced little regret either for the loss of his virtuous self or for the cessation of the reign of terror with which his name will ever remain associated.

B. K.

Mémoires du Chancelier Pasquier. Publiées par le Duc d'AUDRIFFRET PASQUIER: Tome deuxième (1812-1814). Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1893. 8 frs.

THE first volume of Pasquier's memoirs was highly praised in our October number. Another has since appeared and fully bears out our expectation that it would equal its predecessor in interest. The last two years of the Empire teemed with tremendous events, and hence a whole volume of 450 pages is devoted to them. Pasquier did not of course go to Moscow; but he tells us of the anxiety, the alarm, and finally the utter dismay of the people at home as they heard of the successive disasters of their Grande Armée. He has much to say of the extraordinary devotion of the French nation to the Emperor during his last gigantic efforts to turn the tide of victory. The tangled and disreputable story of the capitulation of Paris and the restoration of the Bourbons, may here be found narrated by one who was well placed to know all its secrets, and whose calm judicious temperament enables him to deal out justice to all the parties concerned. The prison-life of Pius VII. does not fill so large a space as it did in the earlier volume; but whenever it is touched upon, the writer's sympathy with the much injured Pontiff is openly expressed.

T. B. S.

Le Prince Charles de Nassau-Siegen, d'après sa Correspondance originale inédite de 1784 à 1789. Par le MARQUIS d'ARAGON. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1893.

THE Russian alliance again! Here is the story of a brave soldier—partly French by descent and belonging to the French Army—who fought on land and sea for Catherine II, against the Turks and Swedes. His adventures during the five most eventful years of his life (1784-1789) are admirably described in the letters to his wife, now first published. His own career is interesting enough, but the reader will be even more struck by the sketches of the famous

personages with whom the hero came into contact during his absence from France. Catherine, of course, is frequently spoken of, and appears in a most favourable light; and he has much to say of Joseph II., Stanislaus Augustus, Gustavus III., the Prince of Kaunitz, Prince Potemkin, M. de Ségur, and many others. His great aim in life was to bring about a permanent alliance between France and Russia. Hence the opportuneness of the present volume.

T. B. S.

The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers of the first Six Centuries.

By T. LIVIUS, M.A., C.S.S.R.; with a Preface by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. 8vo, pp. 481. London: Burns & Oates. 1893.

THIS monumental work—there is no other word for it—marks an epoch in the history of devotion to the Mother of God. As His Eminence in his preface remarks, it appeals alike to devout Catholics and to sincere and earnest inquirers outside the Church. The latter will have a stumbling-block removed which an un-instructed zeal for the honour of God had set in their path; and will learn that the language of St. Alphonsus and of the B. Grignon de Montfort is only a development of, where it is not the same as, that of the earliest Christian antiquity. Catholics, on the other hand, will find their devotion quickened by realising that in this, as in every other detail of the Christian life, they are the heirs of all the ages, and that they address Our Lady now in the same accents that were familiar to St. Ambrose or St. Ephrem. The subject had indeed been treated, in his own masterly way, by Cardinal Newman, in his well-known letter to Dr. Pusey; but the brevity of a pamphlet compelled him to leave many details unnoticed and many difficulties undiscussed, so that the greater part of the field was left unoccupied in our English literature until now. Happily Fr. Livius gives proof in the volume before us of possessing every quality needed for successfully dealing with such an important subject. The introductory chapters on development show his clearness in dealing with abstract questions, while almost every page testifies to his great erudition and industry, as well as to that sobriety of judgment which is the most valuable endowment of the true scholar. He is at his best when dealing with such delicate points as the History of the Assumption, or the language used by certain Fathers—such as Origen and St. John Chrysostom—which seems to impute doubt or fault to the Mother of God. It gives the reader confidence in his guide to find that difficulties are not denied or ignored, but discussed and reduced to reasonable pro-

[No. 9 of *Fourth Series*.]

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portions. It is pleasant to find that his anticipation has been already realised, that further discovery of early Christian documents will add to the evidence he has accumulated. The apology of Aristides witnesses to the Virginity of Our Lady; and the fragment of the "Apocalypse of Peter" does the same for the intercession of the Saints in Heaven. The Pilgrimage of St. Silvia again, carries back the proof of the existence of the Festival of the Purification in Jerusalem to a much earlier date than was previously known. We do not see that Fr. Livius notices the Sibylline books which bear such abundant and unequivocal testimony to the prerogatives and intercession of Our Lady and of the saints in general, and which cannot be later than the fourth century. It is earnestly to be hoped that the learned author of this work and "St. Peter" will add to the debt which all English-speaking Catholics already owe him, by collecting the testimony of the primitive Church to other points of Catholic doctrine.

The Twelve Minor Prophets, expounded by C. Von Orelli.

Translated by Rev. J. S. BANKS. 8vo, pp. 405, 10s. 6d.
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

WE very gladly welcome the appearance, in an English translation, of Dr. Orelli's useful commentary on the Minor Prophets. At a time when every one who deals with Scriptural subjects is expected, on pain of being thought hopelessly behind the age, to listen with bowed head to the oracular utterances of the "higher criticism," one naturally turns first to those pages of a newly published commentary which may be expected to disclose the writer's attitude in this particular, and to show whether he is a worshipper at the shrine of Wellhausen, or whether he takes up an independent position, with due subordination of course—in the case of a Catholic—to guiding principles of a higher order than philology and analysis can supply. Dr. Orelli is, of course, not a Catholic, and it is all the more pleasant to find that he arrives, by sheer force of honest reasoning and common sense, at conclusions with which for the most part, a Catholic may cordially agree, but which are in marked opposition to those of the critics whose influence is now all too dominant. To such critics not a few passages in the Minor Prophets are a sad stumbling-block, since they show as flourishing in full vigour, long before the Babylonian exile, ideas which we are for ever being told were distinctively exilic or post-exilic conceptions. This stumbling-block is, however, usually removed or evaded by the simple process of relegating the writings of the Prophets to a lower

date than they claim for themselves. Such, for instance, is the case with Joel, whose recognition of priests and sacrifices, and of Jerusalem as the appointed centre of national worship, is extremely distasteful to the advanced critic, and who consequently has been requested, like the guest in the parable, to sit down in a lower place, and confess his post-exilic origin. Hereupon, Dr. Orelli writes :

That Jerusalem-Zion is the theocratic centre of the land—yea, in a sense, of the earth—from which deliverance and doom issue, is no proof of late origin : for this is not merely the view held by Isaiah from the first, but even by Amos (i. 2), yea, by David : and the representation of Wellhausen, to the effect that only long after this king did the Temple at Jerusalem raise the claim to be Jehovah's proper abode in the land, is arbitrary ; the same may be said of the not seldom repeated assertion, that a pre-exilic prophet could not speak sympathetically of sacrificial rites (p. 76).

A mere assertion, however, that the assumptions of modern criticism are arbitrary, could hardly be accepted as a satisfactory proof of the early date of Joel. Orelli holds that "decisive evidence of the pre-exilic origin" of the book of Joel "is to be found in the literary references to it." Not only do Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel unmistakably reflect and expand the language of Joel, but several passages in Amos (i. 2 ; iv. 9 ; v. 18, 20 ; ix. 13) are no less dependent upon the earlier prophet. "Only in ch. iii. 5 do we recognise an express reference to a prophetic oracle, and that Obadiah's" (p. 77).

We are glad to see that Dr. Orelli takes his stand on the historical character of the book of Jonah, and maintains, against a whole army of modern commentators, the physical actuality of the miracle with which that Prophet's name is most inseparably associated. We could, indeed, have wished that he had expressed himself with rather less of hesitancy on this latter point ; but in days of rampant rationalism it is well to be thankful even for small mercies in the shape of protests against the prevailing spirit of the age. We transcribe a portion of Orelli's Introduction to Jonah :

What runs like a red thread through the whole, at last becomes a knot, whose unloosing in iv. 10 f. forms the glorious finale, which is here revealed as full of goodwill and love, in opposition to the limited, narrow-hearted notion current in Israel, and not impossible even to a prophet like Jonah ; while the conduct of the heathen to God, both that of the seamen and the Ninevites, must put the Jews to shame by their reverence for the Deity, and their ready repentance. The national limits of the Old Covenant are here wondrously broken through ; the entire heathen world opens as a mission field to the messengers of Jehovah. Thus the book, with its wide-hearted outlook on God's ways, and sharp criticism of the selfish spirit of the Jewish people, as a didactic work, is itself a miracle in the literature of this people (p. 170).

So extraordinary an event [as the fish miracle] is . . . to be understood from the moral significance of the entire history. If Peter, in the same Joppa, needed a heavenly vision before he set foot in the first heathen house, a still stronger divine interposition was necessary in the Old Covenant to overcome the resistance of the spirit of national self-righteousness. . . . The high significance of Jonah's mission to Nineveh is evident also from the way in which Jesus looks back to it, Matt. xii. 38 ff. (xvi. 4) ; Luke xi. 29 f. As Jonah found faith in the Ninevites, so Jesus will find faith in the heathen for a witness against this unbelieving generation, yet not without passing, like Jonah, through the abyss of Hades.* . . . From this point of view, therefore, the miracle, which is a stumbling block to many, appears fully justified on religious grounds.† . . . Whoever, therefore, feels the religious greatness of the book, and accepts as authoritative the attitude taken to its historical import by the Son of God Himself, will be led to accept a great act of the God who brings down to Hades [Sheol] and brings up again, as an actual experience of Jonah in his flight from his Lord (pp. 172-2).

On the other hand, we are sorry to find that—as might, however, have been expected—Dr. Orelli speaks slightly of the Eucharistic interpretation of Mal. i. 11, an interpretation which—apparently in forgetfulness of Irenæus and of the *Didachê*—he strongly characterises as “Roman.” So, too, we regret that he has not seen his way to maintain the unity of the Book of Zechariah (*Zacharias*). The extraordinary disagreement among those who would assign to Zech. ix.-xiv. an author and a date other than those of chapters i.-viii., should warn the student not to be over hasty in drawing conclusions from internal characteristics of Deutero-Zechariah which have convinced Schrader and others that he must have lived in the days of Jeremiah, while they have led Stade to the no less confident conclusion that he is to be looked for in the third century B.C. It is fair to Dr. Orelli to say that he regards as of small account, in this case, critical arguments based upon the diversity of style which is observable in the earlier and in the later chapters of Zechariah; but the grounds on which he himself maintains a double authorship appear to us singularly weak, especially when it is remembered that, in order to be available, they ought to be such as to outweigh the very strong presumption against the disintegration of a book which, in the canon, appears as the book of a single author. He writes :

A much more important point is, that the outward historical and political situation, presupposed in chaps. ix.-xiv., is not that of the age of Zerubbabel. In the First Part, among the heathen nations hostile to God's people, Babylon is prominent, and almost alone comes into view; on the other hand, in chaps. ix.-xi., Syrians, Phœnicians, Philistines appear;

* We have ventured to amend the translation here by a slight transposition of a very few words.

† “Appears,” &c. We presume that the writer's meaning is—as it ought to be—*φαίνεται ὡς* not *φαίνεται ἵνα*.

then as great powers, swallowing up the nation, Assyria and Egypt, finally Javan in the distance. The single cities of the Syrians, Phœnicians, and Philistines still enjoy a certain independence; Gaza, at any rate, still has its own king (ix. 3). . . . [Again] the chief moral and political faults, presupposed in Part II., are pre-exilic. This part still contends chiefly against idolatry (x. 2), and regards the extirpation of the false prophets as yet future; their number must still have been great at the time when Zech. xiii. 2-6, was written. . . . [Yet elsewhere], generally speaking, after the Exile there is no complaint about idolatry, and little about false prophets, &c. (pp. 306, 307).

It is curious that a writer who fully recognises the prophetic character of prophecy (a tautology which in view of modern rationalism is not meaningless) should not see that the passage in which mention is made of the cities of Philistia, Gaza, Ashkelon and Ekron, looks forward to a time yet future when these cities shall once more fall, one by one, before an advancing conqueror. And who is this conqueror? No Assyrian or Egyptian, but a son of Javan, as is implied in ix. 13. Assyria and Egypt are indeed mentioned in x. 10, but as countries whence the people of God shall be led back after that "more general Exile" of which the prophet has spoken in the previous verse: "I will scatter them (*σπερῶ*, LXX.) among the nations, and they shall remember me in the far countries"; words in which the "dispersion" (*διασπορά*) of a later day is much more aptly expressed than—as Orelli supposes—the Assyrian exile. It is hardly necessary to insist that the state of things represented in ix. 3-6, the fall of Tyre and of the cities of Philistia, falls in precisely with the history of the conquest of Alexander on his way to Egypt, or to remind Dr. Orelli that in that history not only do the sieges of Tyre and of Gaza occupy a prominent position, but very particular mention is made of the Governor or Prince of Gaza, who is evidently regarded by Josephus as having been a personage of considerable importance. (Ant. Jud. XI. viii. 3). As to the supposed absence of idolatry from the catalogue of the sins of the Jewish People after the Exile, it is perhaps wiser to regard Zech. x. 2 as supplementing the imperfect information which we have from other sources than to assume a contradiction of which we have no proof, and then—in order to avoid the supposed contradiction—to shift the date of Deutero-Zechariah by a century or two. It should further be observed that the form of idolatry to which Zech. x. 2 refers is the private and domestic cult of the *Teraphim*, not a public and organised worship of the deities of a Philistian, or Babylonian, or Assyrian Olympus.

Historic Towns: York. By JAMES RAINE, M.A., D.C.L., Chancellor and Canon Residentiary of York. 8vo, pp. 223. London: Longmans and Co.

CANON Raine's long and honourable connection with historical and antiquarian research in all that appertains to the story of the North of England, clearly pointed to him as the scholar pre-eminently qualified to undertake the task of writing the account of that ancient city for the series of "historic towns," planned by the late Professor Freeman. The learned volumes which the Canon has edited for the Rolls Series and the Surtees Society, his life-long study of all that bears upon our Northern antiquities, have earned for him the fullest right to speak with authority on the points in question; an authority that is hereditary as well as personal, so long and honourably have his family been associated with antiquarian lore. But it is not only to men of learning that the fame of Canon Raine is known. Even the navvies of old Ebor trust to finding in him appreciation, explanation, and, generally, purchase of the mysteries they turn up in the course of their delving.

The book before us is distinctly of a popular nature. Nevertheless, it is a work of genuine merit; and will be welcomed alike by the general reader and the scholar. It is no mere compilation from histories and guide-books, brightened by the local colouring that could be gained in a week's rush round the neighbourhood. It is, on the other hand, the highly condensed result of the cumulative studies of years. Much of the information is first-hand. Indeed, the only serious complaint to be found with the work is that the condensation is too complete. That, however, is no fault of the author, but rather the defect of the series, of which the volume forms a part. York, Alcuin's "Altera Roma" and "Emporium terræ" in Roman Britain, with all its historic past, has to be treated in the same number of pages as its namesake in the New World.

The work is divided into three parts. The first deals with the general history of the city. Authentic details of the Roman city are few and meagre; but Canon Raine has carefully gathered together the scanty fragments of genuine history, and by the light of the knowledge gained from his antiquarian researches, has been able to fill in the bare outlines, and present us with a graphic picture of the old Roman Capital of Northern Britain. The story is carried down, intermingled with much curious information, to the Revolution of 1688.

In the second part a rapid survey is taken of the ecclesiastical history of the city, education and the urban charities. This separation of the general and ecclesiastical history of the city, imperfect

though it is owing to the close connection and mutual dependence of Church and State in the Middle Ages, certainly conduces to clearness. Part III. is taken up with a short notice of the Municipality and its Constitutional History.

The work is doubly welcome to the Catholic. There is little or nothing that we could have wished unsaid. Perhaps there are points on which we could have desired fuller treatment—the troubles connected with the Reformation, for instance; the Council of the North, and the Persecution of the Catholics. These, however, we feel sure, have had to be sacrificed, along with many others, to the exigencies of the series. The courteous and ready assistance given by Canon Raine to the late Father John Morris, S.J., on the subjects in question forbids the conclusion that the Canon is either uninterested in these matters or has burked the relation of them.

As a matter of fact, there are scattered up and down the work numerous admissions and straightforward statements which, coming as they do from so high an authority as Canon Raine, cannot fail to abate the virulence of the Protestant Tradition. The learned Canon writes in the spirit of Lingard, not of Hume.

Here is a description of the results of the rebellion in favour of Mary Stuart in 1569 :

One of the consequences of this rebellion was the increased severity with which the Roman Catholics were persecuted all over the province of York. Woe to the poor wretches who fell into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Priests were hunted down like vermin. Attendance at Church and at the Holy Communion was rigidly enforced. Everything that savoured of Roman Catholicism was checked and attacked (p. 110).

The work abounds with facts and matter that will be found useful in the combat against the "Continuity Theory." We may instance, as an example of what we mean, how on the death of Queen Eleanor, the Archbishop wrote to King Edward I. telling him that 47,528 Masses had been said in the Archdiocese of York for the repose of her soul (p. 66).

Speaking of the attitude of the people towards the work of the Reformation, Canon Raine says :

Still [in spite of known abuses], the hearts of the people in York were not turned away from their old forms and belief. They clung to them and suffered for their adhesion. There was no district in England where so stern a system of suppression and repression was forced upon an unwilling and slowly yielding people. The clergy in the latter half of the sixteenth century were very closely watched and looked after. Secret agents of the Roman Catholic Colleges of Douay and Rheims were fitting about the country encouraging their co-religionists and trying

to bring others over. The severity with which they were punished acted in favour of their cause (p. 186).

Canon Raine's work whets the appetite for more. He has been compelled to omit much. Something more in the way of maps might certainly have been supplied to guide the reader through the multitude of allusions to names and places. We have reason to hope that the author has in contemplation a larger and more complete work. Meanwhile, the general reader will find much reliable information concerning the Minster, its stained glass, heraldry, &c., in a handy but somewhat elaborate guide-book by Mr. Geo. Benson, published by Ben Jonson & Co., of York. The present Dean of York, the Very Rev. Cust, has also published a monumental work upon the Heraldry of the Minster.

J. B. M.

La Dévotion a Saint Joachim. Par l'Auteur "De la Dévotion a Sainte Anne." 8vo, pp. xiv.—412. Paris: Téqui.

THERE can be no doubt that during the Pontificate of the present Pope, whose Patron Saint is St. Joachim, devotion to the Father of Our Blessed Lady has received a new impetus. In Rome, near the Vatican itself, a majestic basilica is being raised in honour of this Holy Patriarch, which will serve as a memorial of the Episcopal Jubilee of Leo XIII. The present volume is not a mere manual of prayers, as might be inferred from the title. It is an attempt at making known the prerogatives and the virtues of the Saint. To this end the author considers these four points: (1) As St. Joachim had been predestined to be the father of the Immaculate Virgin Mary, what must God have done to prepare him for such a dignity? (2) What must St. Joachim have done to prepare himself? (3) This double preparation being presupposed, how did St. Joachim fulfil the obligations of the office received by him from God? (4) To what degree of glory has St. Joachim been raised in the Heavenly Jerusalem; what tribute of veneration and love is due to him from the children of the militant Jerusalem, and what favours may they hope to obtain through his intercession whilst they are in this vale of tears and perils? Of course in a work of this kind there must be much that is only conjectural, but the author always gives some good authority and some reason of convenience for any opinion he may suggest. It is, however, to be regretted that he did not know, or at least did not make use, of a work which exhaustively treats the same subject, called "*Vita e Culto dei SS. Genitori di Maria Vergine, Gioachino ed Anna*," by Abbot Trombelli. In this book the learned

writer, whose theological works are held in such esteem, gives all that is known concerning the name, the parents, the condition, the prerogatives of St. Joachim. That the author of the French work did not consult Trombelli's book is all the more regrettable, as there are in it some ancient hymns, prayers and devotions in honour of St. Joachim, which might have been drawn upon to expand and give variety to the devotional part of this Manual.

A. A.

Memorials of Mr. Serjeant Bellasis (1800-73). By EDWARD BELLASIS, Lancaster Herald. London: Burns & Oates. 1893.

SEVERAL very important and deeply-interesting contributions, in the form of biographies, have appeared during the past few years towards the history of that remarkable and in many respects unique chapter of intellectual and spiritual history which goes by the compendious title of the "Oxford Movement." Among these publications, this handsome volume of Mr. Bellasis's will take an important place. For though Serjeant Bellasis, as his son puts it, "was not one of the more conspicuous public men of his day," yet his intimate relations with men like Wiseman, Newman, Hope-Scott, Ward, and other leaders of that stirring epoch make his biography one of unusual interest, and one which throws innumerable side-lights upon the religious history of many of his more famous contemporaries. A brief notice like this is not the place to give either a complete summary or a detailed review of the book in hand. And if we were to begin to quote striking or interesting passages, we fear we should be tempted to lay under contribution almost every other page of a delightful volume. One point, however, has struck us more forcibly than usual in perusing these pages, and we refer to it because it seems to contain a lesson of the highest value for us Catholics. This is the very great part played in Bellasis's conversion—quite apart from intellectual agencies and the influence of Newman and the Tractarian school—by Catholic life and example. This was brought home to the Serjeant in two different spheres: on the Continent of Europe by the religious life and behaviour of the Catholics he saw in Belgium, Bavaria, Tyrol, and other Catholic lands; and, later on, by the daily life of Catholic families in England. Concerning his impressions of Catholicism abroad, he wrote in August 1843, seven years before his reception into the Church:

The notion that I should find the foreign Catholics indifferent was very soon dispelled; the very manner in which I saw a French steersman at

the helm of his vessel take off his cap on passing the large crucifix on the pier at Dieppe surprised me, and the earnestness and devotion I saw in the churches was something quite new to me, but then I fell back upon the idea that it was all superstition and idolatry, fraud in the priests, and ignorance in the people.

Of the higher classes of laity in the countries in which I have travelled I have seen nothing, but I have seen a good deal of the priests, of the poor, and of the schools for the children of the poor; and the more I saw, the more and more I became convinced how utterly groundless my impressions were. Of the priests (I speak now of Belgium and Prussia, where I saw them most) I have a very pleasing recollection; here and there I met with a mere argumentative theologian, but as a body I was struck by their kindness of manner and simplicity of life; although in the conversations I had with them I might not agree with them, yet the very idea that they were not honest and sincere quite shocks and distresses me. I feel and still feel convinced that they were religious men.

That the poor are ignorant is, I believe, an entire misapprehension; I never talked to any who were so; I should say they are far, very far better instructed in religious knowledge than our own people of the same class, and their attention to their religious duties is, to my mind, quite affecting. I have seen in large manufacturing towns, hundreds upon hundreds of work-people in their working dress at Mass at five o'clock in the morning before going into the factories, with their books, and joining heartily in the service, and I need scarcely say what a contrast this forms to the habits of the same class of persons in this country.

I have visited also many Catholic schools abroad, chiefly those under the superintendence of the Christian Brothers, and my opinion is that we have nothing to compare with them, either as to the regularity and order of the schools, the extent of the secular education, the carefulness with which religious instruction is conveyed, or the number and character of the masters.

Upon the whole, my last impression on returning from a foreign country (Belgium) to our own was, that I was coming out of a religious country into one of indifference; the open churches of the former, the frequent services, the constant worshippers, the solemn ceremonial, the collected air of the clergy in their ministrations, the indubitable devotion and reverence of the people, their unhesitating confidence in their Church, has nothing approaching to a counterpart with us; I know nothing more disheartening (I speak of the effect produced upon myself) than a return to England after some time spent in Catholic countries; everything seems so careless, so irreverent, so dead; with all my heart I wish, and especially for my children's sake, that I could see in this country some approximation to the solemnity, reverence, devotion, and earnestness which I have witnessed abroad.

All this may seem harsh towards my own country and my own Church, but they are nevertheless the impressions which I have derived from what I have seen; I am of course liable to be swayed by prejudice as well as others, but so far as I know myself, my prejudices, both those of education and family connection, were all the other way, and I feel they have been overcome by facts which are irresistible. I have now given you what you asked for: my impressions of the Church on the Continent, and you are quite at liberty to make what use of it you please (pp. 27-29).

These strong impressions made by the lives of Catholics abroad before Bellasis's conversion, were happily confirmed still more emphatically by his experiences of Catholic homes immediately

after that event. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure and edification of quoting the following passages :

I was kindly received by the Catholics to whom I had been introduced ; but more than this, I was highly edified by the habits of the Catholic households. I was particularly struck with the unobtrusive and natural manner in which religion was mixed up with the ordinary affairs and even amusements of life. And he gives the following instances of his meaning :

Whilst we were staying at Everingham, the hounds were on the lawn, and the horses of the guests parading in front, and groups of gentry preparing to start, when I went into the chapel ; there was no one there but Mr. William Maxwell [afterwards Lord Herries], and he was on his knees making his morning meditation in a scarlet coat and top boots. This looked to me, at first, like an incongruity. I soon saw, however, that it was not so. . . . On another occasion, whilst we were staying at Holme, I was up early on a Sunday morning, and had gone into the tribune of the chapel, which was a gallery opening from the staircase, and where I was not visible to any one in the chapel below ; at first there was no one, but after some time the sacristy door opened and the young lady of the house entered, who during the previous evening had been foremost in making merriment amongst a young party. She was not conscious of my presence, and proceeded to prepare the altar for Mass, doing this with such reverence and devotion that I could hardly believe her to be the same person who the night before had been acting charades and playing forfeits with such a merry countenance. Everything now was done with deliberation ; she never passed in front of the altar without kneeling, and everything was touched and handled so gently and so devotionally that she might have been serving in the presence of some great monarch ; she finally knelt and prayed, and retired. I had not yet learned the effect produced upon Catholics by the consciousness of the Presence of the Blessed Sacrament. . . . Again, whilst we were staying at Broughton Hall, I saw nothing in Sir Charles Tempest but a cheerful, courteous, good-humoured country gentleman, with strong political feelings ; he was not at all the man whom I should have expected to find at early morning alone in his chapel, and staying there during two Masses with unmistakable devotion. He practised his religion, but I do not think I ever heard him talk about it. Once more, Mr. Charles Waterton, a vigorous old man, the well-known naturalist, full of cheerful anecdote, with whom we spent some weeks at Walton Hall, was also a well-read theologian and liked to talk upon Catholic subjects. . . . After his wife's death, a blanket, a log of wood, and the bare floor, were all the appliances he had for sleeping. Also at four in the morning, winter and summer, he made a meditation bareheaded in the open air on the borders of his lake. But these acts of mortification appeared to be quite consistent in him with a joyful, not to say jovial, character. All these things were new to me.

The edification given to the Serjeant by these Catholic families is referred to by his wife. "These old Catholic Yorkshire houses are truly patriarchal," she writes, "and models of what Christian households may and ought to be. The *angelus* awakens us in the morning, Mass comes before breakfast, at noon *angelus* and again at sunset, family prayers at night, punctual to the minute, nobody absent from the church, and throughout the day religion forming one of the topics of conversation in the most natural way." And in describing a Christmas visit in 1859 to Wardour, after speaking of the festivities, she adds : "With all this, religion came

first and foremost ; daily Mass, always attended by the family and their dependents, night prayers, and the *angelus* bell" (pp. 107-109).

But we must stop. In spite of our good resolutions, our quotations have been, after all, we fear, rather too long. We conclude with sincerely congratulating the amiable and gifted Lancaster Herald upon his accomplishing so successfully this truly *pium opus*, and giving us a daring sketch of a daring life. He has largely added to its merits by an excellent and very complete alphabetical index.

A word of praise must be said of the beautiful portraits which illustrate it, especially the full-page engravings of Serjeant Bellasis and Mr. Hope-Scott, two each respectively. What singularly beautiful faces, full of virile perfection of type and intellectual nobility !

L. C. C.

Die Lehre von der Kirche nach dem St. Augustin. Von Dr. THOMAS SPECHT. Paderborn : Schöningh. 1892. 8vo. VI. 354 pag.

GERMAN literature is not wanting in works on the problems connected with the theological and philosophical opinions of St. Augustine. Only last year it became indebted to Professor Woerter, in Freiburg (Baden), for his solid exposition of "the development of St. Augustine up to his baptism." Soon afterwards, Dr. Specht, professor of theology in the seminary of Dillingen (Bavaria), produced another work on the great Bishop of Hippo. This writer deals with St. Augustine's system or theory on the Church. He shows himself to be possessed of a thorough knowledge of St. Augustine's works. He has adopted the systematic method and, consequently, is grouping the saint's doctrine under a scheme which at once affords an insight far deeper than would have been gained by simply adhering to the chronological order. In seven sections he enlarges on the Church's institution, constitution, and organisation, her relation to Christ and the Holy Ghost, her qualities and notes, her infallibility, and the connection between the visible and heavenly Church. For proving his position, or refuting the views of those who differ from him, Dr. Specht throughout makes St. Augustine to speak in his own words. In his famous articles contributed to the DUBLIN REVIEW in the beginning of the Tractarian movement, Cardinal Wiseman very appropriately compared the Anglicans to the Donatists, who occupied so much of the care of St. Augustine. It is to Donatists and their votaries in every following century, down to the opponents of the Vatican Council, that

Dr. Specht pays special attention. Wherever we meet with opinions of St. Augustine which *seem* to favour any of the sects he is extremely careful to examine into the circumstances in which such utterances were delivered. Apparently conflicting statements are proved to be in full harmony with the general doctrine of the Saint as soon as they are seen in this context. A most striking example presents itself in the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church and the Infallibility of the Pope. Dr. Specht writes, p. 325: "According to St. Augustine the decisions in doctrinal questions given by the Bishop of Rome, the Pope, are endowed with infallibility." Of course a highly-developed pronouncement on this question would be looked for in vain in St. Augustine who, on the contrary, is touching on it only incidentally. But these occasional remarks fully suffice to establish, beyond any doubt, what the great doctor of the African Church taught on the Church's infallibility and indefectibility, as well as upon her exclusiveness and her superiority to any merely human institution. In refuting his adversaries Dr. Specht is mainly engaged with German Protestant or Gallican theologians, but I venture to contend that the book will prove to be a veritable storehouse for English Catholic scholars in dealing with the claims of Anglicanism of every shade.

THE QUARTERLY SERIES.

The Life of the Ven. Joseph Benedict Cottolengo, Founder of the Little House of Providence in Turin. Compiled from the Italian Life of DON P. GASTALDI, by a Priest of the Society of Jesus.

The Life of Augustus Henry Law, Priest of the Society of Jesus. By ELLIS SCHREIBER.

The Lights in Prayer of the Ven. Fathers Louis de la Puente, Claude de la Colombière, and the Rev. Father Paul Segneri, S.J.

Two Ancient Treatises on Purgatory (Father JAMES MUMFORD, S.J., and Father RICHARD THIMELBY, S.J.). London: Burns & Oates. 1893.

THE first volume of these four recent additions to the *Quarterly Series* is an extremely interesting narrative, well written and well translated, of a singularly attractive life. The Ven. Joseph Benedict Cottolengo is known by the gigantic home for the poor which he established in Turin. He was a man who thoroughly

believed in Providence. Some of his creditors, it would appear, had by no means equal confidence. Yet those who trusted him and were patient seem never to have lost their money. His life is one long exhortation to give up all for God and to trust completely in God.

The Life of Father A. H. Law, S.J., though perhaps needlessly minute for the general reader, will be valued by his numerous friends and by the Society to which he belonged. He was one of those beautiful characters that attract the hearts of all men, and his lonely death, in the northern parts of Matabeleland, is as touching and pathetic as anything in the lives of holy missionaries.

Two of the treatises in the third volume on our list have been already published in English; but we are informed that they have now been re-translated by the same writer who gives us the translation of the third. Each of them is a sort of record or diary of the "lights" received during the exercise of mental prayer by the eminent and saintly man who has left it to us. The Ven. de la Puente speaks with a fulness and a holy eloquence which will furnish many minds with abundant thought. The Ven. de la Colombière's "Retreat" is already well known. It is most practical and detailed. This is the "Retreat" of which Blessed Margaret Mary said that she had found therein the "devotion" to the Sacred Heart. But the holy Virgin must have said this more out of humility than for any other reason, as the references of Father de la Colombière to the Sacred Heart in these pages are very few and not particularly striking. The characteristic of the treatise by F. Segneri is its masterly and abundant handling of Holy Scripture. The late Father John Morris writes a valuable preface to the volume.

The reprint of the two devotional Treatises on "Purgatory" will be useful. This volume is also enhanced by a contribution from Father John Morris on the "Heroic Act of Charity." Whilst giving much valuable information, he seems to say (p. 111) that the increase of personal charity consequent on making the "Heroic Act" may, if we so wish it, be detached from us as far as "satisfactory" efficacy goes. This seems incompletely expressed. Surely the more we "offer" the more we merit? And if, by a reflex act, we still again "offer" such merit as accrues from offering, we merit still more; so that, by detaching our "satisfaction," we personally satisfy still more. St. Gertrude, when about to die, was concerned at having entirely applied her merits to the souls in Purgatory and done nothing for herself; but Jesus said to her: "Gertrude, be not troubled; your charity towards the souls in Purgatory has been so agreeable to me that after death you will be exempted from Purgatory."

Direction du Conscience. Lettre à une Supérieure religieuse. 3me. édition. Traduit de l'Italien (du Père S. FRANCO) par l'Abbé A. E. GAUTIER. Paris: Téqui. 1893.

MANY religious Superiors will be glad that Padre Franco's useful Commentary on the Decree of December 17, 1890, regarding Manifestation of Conscience and Holy Communion has been translated into French. It forms a *brochure* of about 180 pp.

Avis et Réflexions sur les Devoirs de l'État religieux.
Par un RELIGIEUX BÉNÉDICTIN.

THIS is the work which is understood to be referred to by St. Alfonso when he says in "The True Spouse of Jesus Christ," "Read the works of St. Francis de Sales, of St. Theresa, of Father Louis of Grenada, of Saint-Jure, Meremberg, Pinamonti, and the like, and *above all the Advice to Religious* by the Fathers of St. Maur." The writer was Dom Du Sault, who died at Avignon in 1724. In a solid and eloquent style these two volumes treat of every point of religious life. They are a treasure for superiors, novice-masters, and retreat-givers.

Founders of Old Testament Criticism. By T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D. 1893. London: Methuen & Co.

PROFESSOR CHEYNE is well known as an ardent champion of the "Higher Criticism." He has already published much in this sense; amongst other works being his Commentary and Bampton Lectures on the Psalms, and his "Prophecies of Isaiah." We do not sympathise with a large proportion of the views contained in these volumes; but, on the other hand, it must be admitted that they are scholarly productions, and that many hints may be gained from them by Catholic students.

The volume before us may be briefly described as a glorification of the authors and methods of the "higher criticism." Perhaps the spirit that animates it may be most clearly seen in a brief sentence with which the preface closes. "It (Biblical Criticism) has a great history behind it, and a still greater one may, let us hope, be before it."

Such being the object that Professor Cheyne sets before himself, we cannot quarrel with him for the men he has chosen to eulogise; or the point of view from which he approaches the story of their lives. The most favourable criticism, if it be impartial, must declare

the object of the work to be polemical, not judicial. The author's part is that of the advocate, not that of the student. He holds a brief for the "higher criticism," and is down on anything which does not support it. Indeed, in some cases, he seems to attribute a want of sympathy with modern criticism to sheer dishonesty of purpose.

A work of this kind may indeed be interesting to a certain class of readers; but obviously it will not be acceptable to the ordinary Catholic reader. Indeed, even those students who desire to gain some insight into the history of modern Biblical criticism might well turn to a more impartial treatise for information.

Professor Cheyne's notices of Delitzsch and Sayce illustrate the *animus* with which he approaches his subject.

Our author had a natural liking for Delitzsch; still he does not conceal his opinion that he was never more than half a critic. The principle on which he treats the literary career of the great German commentator is simple. It consists in more or less deploring the results of his earlier years' study, and applauding his later efforts. Why so? Because for a long time, though Professor Cheyne assures us he never "identified himself with traditionalism," still Delitzsch sympathised with conservative scholarship. Accordingly the results obtained during this period are depreciated. On the other hand, the fifth edition of the "Commentary on Genesis," in which Delitzsch falls into line with the higher criticism, is a great work, "stimulating and instructive," and "a proof not only of physical, but of moral energy."

Professor Cheyne will hardly allow that Sayce acts honestly. This is apparently because, having at one period favoured the teaching of the "higher criticism," in later years his mind has been tending towards traditional views. Accordingly, our author seems hurt at Sayce's publications in the Religious Tract Society series; and at the influence the opinion of such a man is having on the thought of the day. It never seems to have occurred to him that Sayce's change of opinions has been brought about by his study of Assyriology; nor does he deny that, in that science, Sayce stands in the very front-rank of scholarship. But the "higher criticism" is the only field worth labouring in, according to Professor Cheyne; and any man who forsakes that happy land, is a kind of apostate.

One must regret [he writes of Sayce] not less for his own sake than for the cause of progress, that he should popularise so many questionable theories, and that in doing so, he should make so many concessions to a most uncritical form of traditional theology. There was a time when he was not ashamed to be called a friend by the unpopular Bishop Colenso; a time, when he tried his skill in problems of the "higher criticism"; a

time, not so far distant, when he delivered the Hibbert Lectures. Now, however, I find him coupled as an orthodox apologist with one of the most uncritical of living theologians.

The volume before us contains a short eulogy on our school of Biblical interpretation. It is undoubtedly clever and ably written. But it is pervaded by a one-sidedness which detracts much from its merits.

Beati Alberti Magni Episcopi Ratisbonensis de sacrosancto Corporis Domini Sacramento Sermones, juxta manuscriptos codices necnon editiones antiquiores accurate recogniti. Per GEORGIUM JACOB. Ratisbonæ: Pustet. 1893. 8vo, XIV.-272 pag.

CANON Jacob, of Ratisbon Cathedral, has rendered an important service to scholastic theology by issuing in an excellent critical edition the sermons delivered on the Blessed Sacrament by Albert the Great, under whose tuition St. Thomas of Aquina was educated in Cologne. Certain scholars, amongst whom we may especially mention Benedetto Bonelli, were anxious to attribute the sermons collected in the above volume to St. Bonaventure. But recently the editors of the Saint's works, the Franciscan Fathers of the College of St. Bonaventure at Quaracchi, near Florence, by the solid arguments adduced have proved the point that the sermons cannot claim St. Bonaventure as their author. Canon Jacob refutes with much care the opinion of those writers who attribute the sermons to St. Thomas, and, on the other side, fully succeeds in establishing the authorship of Albert the Great. In 1486 Peter of Prussia, who wrote the life of Albert, saw his autograph of the sermons in the convent of the Dominican Fathers in Cologne. Furthermore, as a matter of fact, the sermons are extant in numerous manuscripts of Albert's works. As to the contents of the sermons, in the edition of the works of Albert the Great (Lyons, 1651), they receive the eulogy of "sermones plane divini." They represent scholastic theology on the Blessed Sacrament in its best form, having combined with it the mystical element by which the great mediæval doctors were so largely influenced. Canon Jacob has spared no pains to enrich his edition by learned critical and exegetical notes and good indexes.

Dictionnaire de la Bible. Publié par F. VIGOUROUX. Fascicule V. Athènes—Beck. Paris : Letouzey et Ané. 1893.

WE have already more than once recorded our appreciation of this latest work of M. Vigouroux. We have only one fault to find with the editors : that is the time they are taking over the publication of the work. Unless something is done to hasten its progress, we shall have to wait twelve or fifteen years before we are in complete possession of M. Vigouroux's Bible Dictionary.

It is unnecessary to add anything to what we have already said in regard to the opportuneness of the appearance of the present work. There is no lack of Bible Dictionaries among non-Catholics—*e.g.*, Smith's and Herzog's. But for an exhaustive Catholic Dictionary of the Bible, we have to go back to Calmets ; and that is surely somewhat out of date.

In the present number there are important articles on Babylonia, the prophet Baruch, and Balaam, besides a number of treatises of lesser interest.

We may remind our readers that Vigouroux's Bible Dictionary contains notices of all the names of persons, places, plants and animals occurring in sacred Scripture, besides articles on a large number of theological, archaeological, scientific and critical questions connected with the sacred volume.

J. A. H.

Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ. Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthæum, auctore Josepho Knabenbauer, S.J. Parisiis : P. Lethielleux.

WE hail with sincere pleasure a fresh accession to the volumes of the "Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ," which is being brought out by the German Jesuits. The Holy Father has recently issued an important encyclical on the study of sacred Scripture ; and so nearly do the volumes of this series fall in with the views expressed in it, as to the manner in which the interpretation of the sacred text ought to be approached, that it might almost be said Leo XIII. had this series in view when he wrote.

The Gospel of St. Matthew, according to Catholic tradition, was written chiefly for the Palestinian Jews, to prove to them that Jesus was the Messiah. Father Knabenbauer is qualified in a very special way to write a commentary on that Gospel, for he has for years been engaged in the study of the Old Testament ; and he is the author of the commentaries that have appeared in this series on the major and minor prophets.

The work before us, which is in two volumes, opens with an introduction treating of the life of St. Matthew ; a proof that he was the author of the Gospel usually attributed to him ; a discussion of the object with which the Gospel was written, and, finally, a notice of the chief aids one has at hand in the work of interpreting it. There is nothing new in this part of the work, but old arguments are brought forward in such a way as to do service against modern objections.

The interpretation of the Gospel itself is thorough and exhaustive. We cannot obviously here enter into a detailed criticism of it, nor would there be any advantage in attempting to pursue such a course. We must content ourselves with showing the lines upon which the author advances in his work.

The method pursued is clear and logical. The Gospel is divided into four parts, two of which are treated in the first volume, and two in the second. The first part (1, 1-4, 11) embraces the early life of Christ, and the preaching of John the Baptist. In the second part (4, 12-13, 56) Christ is set forth as the Messiah and promulgator of the New Law. He is represented as choosing His disciples, working miracles, and a teacher of men. The third part (14, 1-20, 28) exhibits Christ to us as the teacher of His apostles. He instructs them in holiness of life, strengthens their faith by miracles, warns them against false doctrines, and prepares them for His passion. Finally, the fourth part (20, 29-28, 20) describes the last days of Christ's public life, His passion, death and resurrection.

The whole work being thus divided, the Gospel is explained chapter by chapter. The Vulgate and the Greek text are printed in parallel columns, and all textual difficulties are thoroughly threshed out in appended notes. Then follows the interpretation of the subject-matter of the text itself, which is based upon, and largely illustrated by quotations from, the writings of the fathers. Here, too, one sees the advantage of the author's intimate acquaintance with Hebrew, and with the old Testament writings. For, with the aid of this knowledge, he is often able to throw light upon phrases and expressions in a work originally written in Hebrew (properly Syro-Chaldaic) by a Hebrew, for the Hebrews.

There is a series of appendices at the end of the work, dealing with various objections brought by rationalists against the sacred volume. They have been relegated to the end of the second volume, because the author did not wish "to interrupt the interpretation and explanation of the Gospel for animadversions against rationalists who use all their endeavours to prevent the obvious sense of such narratives as record miracles, trying with all their might to remove and exclude miracles from the Gospel narrative." The appendices

treat of such questions as the Davidic origin of Jesus, His original birth, the story of the Magi, the temptations of Christ, the transfiguration, &c. &c., and occupy altogether about seventeen pages.

If we were disposed to criticise Father Knabenbauer's commentary, we should suggest that its usefulness would have been greater if this part of the work had been enlarged. If, for instance, at the end of each of the four parts into which the commentary is divided, the author had entered into a thorough defence of disputed points. Such discussions are no doubt distasteful to Catholic interpreters, as tending to give a profane character to what is largely a sacred subject; but still, we must take facts as we find them. Rationalistic objections are making havoc of Christian belief. And accordingly answers to these objections must be found and printed, at least in advanced treatises, on the sacred Scriptures.

We regret that Father Knabenbauer has not devoted more space to this branch of the subject. At the same time we bear ready testimony to the solidity and value of what he has actually accomplished. The Commentary on St. Matthew is a monument of Catholic learning and research.

J. A. H.

The Primer of Church Latin. By René F. R. CONDER, B.A.
8vo, pp. 111. London: Burns & Oates.

A fair acquaintance with the Latin language, to say naught of ripe classical scholarship, is far from being a necessary equipment of the Catholic: nevertheless such as possess it enjoy an undoubted advantage over the unlettered. The former only can fully explore and relish the manifold beauties and the solid piety which her liturgical prayers embody. Without wishing, with the Abbé Gaume, to see Lactantius and St. Chrysostom substituted in our schools for Livy and Demosthenes, we feel tempted to regret that our upper Catholic youth are not trained during their college days to admire more and to use more largely the Church's own forms of prayer, and to read with love the forcible though homely Vulgate. Is it not perhaps true that, after their entrance into life, the greater proportion of our young men, who have had the rare advantage of a sound classical education, prefer forms of prayer compiled in the vernacular to the beautiful "*ipsissima verba*" of St. Ambrose and St. Thomas and the ancient inspiring glories of the Canon? "*The Primer of Church Latin*" is the outcome of a desire to see the prayers of Holy Church more widely appreciated and used by her children, and it cannot be too much commended to the class of students for whom it is intended.

All examples illustrating syntax, as well as the exercises, are selected from the Vulgate or the prayers of the Church. The principles of pronunciation are, we are glad to see, laid down in accordance with Roman usage. May the book be the means whereby many will gain some sufficient insight into that noble language, in which, to use the Author's words, "the Catholic world has for centuries 'with one mouth glorified God,' " and into "that tongue in which the voice of the Universal Church speaks in unity throughout the whole world."

Le Comte Joseph De Maistre et sa Famille (1753-1852). Études et Portraits politiques et littéraires. Par M. DE LESCURES. Paris: Chappelliez. 1893.

AS the end of the century is drawing nigh, the forces of both the Revolution and the Reaction are beginning to be spent. Each party now realises that there is some good in the other, and that the work of the next generation will be to secure the good and to eliminate the evil that is in both. This remark may seem a strange introduction to a notice of a life of Joseph De Maistre, who is looked upon as the most uncompromising champion of the old order. But I make it because such able advocates of the Revolution as Sainte-Beuve and Mr. John Morley have recognised that in him the Reaction is seen at its best. Moreover, the French Academy last year appointed De Maistre's life and writings as the subject of the essay for the prize of eloquence; and hence while M. De Paillette was delivering a course of lectures on this subject at the Institut Catholique, the anti-clerical student was provided with a similar course at the Collège de France. This shows a very different state of things from the time when the infidel party tried to laugh him down, and the French Catholics were half ashamed of their defender. But as usually happens in such cases, wit and logic have triumphed. De Maistre has proved that error is not the sole claimant of brilliancy; that orthodoxy need not be dull and heavy; that sparkling epigrams and withering sarcasm are never better employed than in the defence of the truth. Without being a theologian—perhaps, indeed, because he was not a theologian—he has set forth certain of the great principles of Catholicity in such a way as best to appeal to the honest and intelligent men of the nineteenth century. "You and I," he seems to say to them, "have no time or inclination for theological studies; but we want to get at the truth; we want to know something about our origin and destiny; we want some security against tyranny, whether royal or democratic. What say you to the following as a short and plain way of meeting our difficulty? There can

be no public morality or national character without religion; no religion, at least in Europe, without Christianity; no real Christianity without Catholicism; no Catholicism without the Pope, and no Pope without infallibility." Along this road he conducts them step by step, coaxing them by his wit or urging them on by argument, and finally landing them, to their great surprise, in the straitest Ultramontanism.

While giving due prominence to the work which has had most to do with making De Maistre famous, M. Lescures takes care to let us see what manner of man he was, the vicissitudes of his public career, and especially the interesting details of his social and family life. His prolonged absence from home gave rise to a voluminous correspondence with his wife and children, most of which has happily been given to the world. It was the publication of these letters that first convinced his opponents that the writer of the vigorous polemic in favour of the Pope and the scathing attack on Bacon, did not deserve to be described as a "theocratic ogre" and the "bear of Savoy." Copious extracts from them are given in M. Lescures' book, and prove how charming the hard-headed diplomat and stern logician could be with his loved ones in his far-off home.

As for M. Lescures' volume there is only one word that is fit for it—it is excellent in every way. He has made admirable use of his materials, and from long familiarity with them his style has caught something of their point and charm. If one might desiderate something it would be a portrait of De Maistre with a fac-simile of his handwriting. And while we are asking for this we should feel tempted to go further and ask for an index, though there is a copious analysis at the head of each chapter.

T. B. S.

The Australian Commonwealth. By GREVILLE TREGARTHEN.
 "The Story of the Nations." 8vo, pp. 444-51. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1893.

GOVERNOR PHILIPS, as far back as the year 1788, described Australia as "the most valuable acquisition Great Britain ever made." The book recently added to the series known as the "Story of Nations" would certainly tend to justify the prophetic words of the first Governor of New South Wales. Although the work is written evidently with some haste, and with perhaps too narrow a view of what such a work should be, Mr. Tregarthen has nevertheless succeeded in conveying to his readers a clear sense of the immense importance and unlimited possibilities of the great South Land. He shows how boundless are its resources, how little is that

which has yet been done when it is compared with what remains to do, and what energy, enterprise, and self-reliance animate the people in whose hands are placed the destinies of Australia.

We miss, however, much that a book of this nature ought to supply. It is perhaps too much concerned with the details of colonisation, the political changes and commercial vicissitudes of the seven colonies, and too little with the natural features of the country, its original inhabitants and its fauna and flora. We feel sorry to see the author pass so rapidly over the most interesting subject of the Maoris, their physical characteristics and social customs; we should like to hear more about the natives, whose race is deserving of so much attention at the hands of anthropologists. The plants and animals of the country are scarcely mentioned at all. The book thus almost entirely consists of that which, no doubt, appears to the ordinary colonist most important and interesting, namely, the rise of trade; the fluctuations of the markets; the discovery of gold; the number of acres under cultivation; the condition of railways, and the state of local politics. On these points, however, the book is all that could be desired. It gives a brief but accurate account of the rise of each colony, and indicates the peculiar character of its commercial achievements and political tendencies.

Perfect autonomy animates each colony, and that autonomy, if it has its advantages, has also, as we might expect, its drawbacks. Anomalies of hostile tariffs, variation in the gauge of railways, to speak of no greater matters, show clearly the necessity of coming to some sort of arrangement whereby the life of the various provinces might be harmonised, without affecting their individual rights. The author testifies to the desirability of a scheme of federation which would unify the country, when he says: "It is difficult to foretell how or when the desired consummation will be reached, but the sooner a federal Government is established, the sooner will the colonies of Australia take their proper place among the nations of the world."

Mr. Tregarthen gives also a brief but interesting account of the Eight Hours' Movement in Australia, and our readers will be glad to hear that the great Southern Colony has already settled a question which is still a cause of agitation and trouble in the Mother Country. The Eight Hours' Movement seems to have begun in Australia in 1860. It first commenced in New Zealand, then was taken up by the stonemasons of Sydney, and a little later by various classes of operatives in Melbourne. Thus the movement gradually spread from one trade to another until now the "Eight Hours' Day" is the recognised working period in most occupations, and the annual com-

memoration of its inauguration is made the occasion of a general public holiday.

The Education question, of course, exists also in Australia. Until 1880, the principle of granting State aid to religious schools, although unpopular, nevertheless prevailed. But by a new Act passed in that year by the State of New South Wales, the educational system of the Colony was entirely remodelled. Public schools were established in which the teaching was to be strictly non-sectarian. We remark that the secular instruction is supposed to include "general religious teaching as distinguished from dogmatic or polemical theology." We should much like to know how much actual Christianity that "general religious teaching" represents. However, it is stipulated that one hour each day may be set apart for religious instruction to be given in a separate class-room by the clergyman or religious teacher of any persuasion, according to the wish of parents.

Attendance at school is compulsory between the ages of six and sixteen. For the poor, education is practically free. Children attending schools are allowed to travel free by rail. Parents are not compelled to send their children to the public schools, but have free choice in the matter, the State only insisting that instruction shall be given.

We have said enough to show how much matter of the highest interest is contained in this new volume of "The Story of the Nations."

B. K.

Dix Ans de Paix Armée entre la France et l'Angleterre (1783-1793.) Par le Marquis DE BARRAL-MONTFERRAT, Tome 1er. Large 8vo, pp. 374. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1893.

THE Peace of Versailles (1783) between France and England was recognised by both parties as merely a truce on suspension of hostilities. The French, elated by the exceedingly favourable terms which they had obtained, were eager to follow up their success and to blot out once for all the memory of the disastrous Treaty of Paris twenty years before; while the English, smarting under the loss of their colonies and a number of their West Indian possessions, felt that they had been taken at a disadvantage and that another war would restore them to the proud position which they had held under the great Lord Chatham. Nevertheless the peace, such as it was, lasted for ten years. The younger Pitt, who ruled England during nearly the whole of this period, was, notwithstanding all French gends to the contrary, steadfastly opposed to a renewal of the war. It was not until after the execution of Louis XVI. that he was

obliged to give way, and even then it was the French who formally declared war.

These ten years of armed peace between the two countries are the subject of M. de Barral-Montferrat's book. The first volume—the only one as yet published—deals with the earlier half of the period. The treatment is excellent. The learned writer has taken his materials at first hand from the English Public Record Office and the national archives of the Quai d'Orsay, and has worked them up in that orderly fashion and with that charm of style for which his countrymen are renowned. But the English reader may ask why so much labour should be spent on the study of a period which is devoid of interest compared with the stirring times which followed. The reply to this question, which indeed is asked and answered by M. Barral-Montferrat himself, throws light on the choice of subjects and the method of treatment among French historical writers at the present day. They are realising more and more that to understand their Great Revolution they must carefully study the apparently unimportant events which preceded it. This is one reason for the appearance of M. Barral-Montferrat's book. But there is also another and a stronger one which is particularly insisted on. No Frenchman can forget the terrible year 1870. The determination to have the "Revanche," if not always on his lips, is ever in his mind. His teachers are continually setting before him the example of great nations who have been vanquished for a time, as even France has been, and have afterwards risen more gloriously than before. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*, and so even perfidious Albion may be set up as a model. But when did she fall so low as France after 1870? M. Barral-Montferrat believes that her condition in 1783 was even worse than that of his own country after it had been overrun by the Germans and was crippled with the loss of two provinces and five hundred million pounds! He must pardon us if we cannot go all the way with him here. We can allow that the Peace of Versailles was a humiliating one, and that at the end of the Napoleonic wars England had raised herself to the position of the greatest Power in the world. There is much to be learned in the examination of the measures by which she accomplished this, and M. Barral-Montferrat and his countrymen are welcome to profit by the lesson.

T. B. S.

The Process of Argument: a Contribution to Logic. By ALFRED SIDGWICK, author of "Fallacies," "Distinction, and the Criticism of Beliefs," &c. 8vo, pp. 235. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1893.

MR. SIDGWICK has no great respect for formal Logic and the doctrine of Syllogism. He considers that the study of the traditional Logic may be of value for those that have time to pursue it as a portion of the general history of Philosophy, and may possibly be useful as an exercise in mental gymnastics, but that for the purpose of gaining an insight into the distinction between sound and unsound inference it is doubtful whether it does not do more harm than good. We cannot agree with Mr. Sidgwick in this estimate of the Logic of the Schools, nor can we go with him when he invites us to regard causal sequence as nothing more than perfect regularity of sequence. Whoever discredits the apodictical syllogism will have little respect for the principle of causality, and whoever discredits the principle of causality must question the possibility of science. Mr. Sidgwick assures us that so long as we can be certain of perfectly regular sequence we have all that we require. Yes, all that we require for vulgar knowledge, for the knowledge that the thing is and will be; but once exclude the strictly causal sequence and the "why" of the thing as well as the "why" of the perfectly regular sequence must remain impenetrable enigmas. But though we differ widely from Mr. Sidgwick on the points mentioned, we consider the "Process of Argument" a thoroughly readable and, on the whole, a useful and instructive book. The style is easy and flowing, the illustrations are many and are interesting, and the author displays considerable power of analysis.

Reviews in Brief.

The Brontës in Ireland. By DR. WILLIAM WRIGHT. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893.—Dr. Wright has compiled a volume which is not only as interesting as a romance, but also of considerable literary value from the additional light it throws on the Celtic origin of the Brontë genius, so evidently the common inheritance of a race. He has, however, included in his narrative much debateable matter, and the thrilling story of the childhood of old Brontë, Charlotte's grandfather, resting only on his own *ipse dixit*, without a scrap of corroborative evidence, reads rather like a product of that imaginative faculty which achieved such splendid culmination in the third generation of his descendants than a sober statement of fact. The bizarre fancy which rendered the hero of the tale so unrivalled a *raconteur* was associated, too, with a strain of eccentricity bordering on insanity apparently, transmitted to some of his sons.

Apples Ripe and Rosy, Sir. By MARY CATHERINE CROWLEY. Office of the "Ave Maria," Notre Dame, Indiana, 1893.—This charming collection of stories for boys and girls, reprinted from the "Ave Maria," would form a Christmas gift likely to gladden juvenile hearts. The tales have the fresh brightness which we associate with Transatlantic literature, and convey a wholesome moral so unobtrusively as in no degree to mar their interest with the suspicion of "goodness."

Guide to the Oratory. Edited by HENRY SEBASTIAN BOWDEN, Priest of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates, 1893.—This prettily illustrated volume will supply a want felt by the many strangers who visit the Oratory as one of the sights of London, while adding to the interest with which Catholics regard a building in which they all take pride. It gives a complete account of its artistic treasures, with a short sketch of the principal devotions illustrated by them, and a summary history of the Order and its establishment in England.

The Merry Month, and other Prose Pieces. By HENRY BELLYSE BAILDON. London: Fisher Unwin, 1893.—These miniature essays, which, as the preface tells us, have already appeared in the daily press, have a fanciful charm which justifies their republication.

The later ones, descriptive of the Ober-Ammergau Play, are the most interesting of the series, and give a vivid picture of the powerful impression produced by that wonderful representation.

Songs in Springtime. By JOHN CAMERON GRANT. London: E. W. Allen. 1893.—A volume of verse which has achieved a second edition has taken the first step towards a permanent place in literature. This proof of public favour has been secured for Mr. Grant's *Spring Songs*, rather by their facile and melodious versification than by any striking novelty in the ideas they express. He has, however, treated an original subject in the series entitled "Intercepted Letters." These are, in fact, a poetical version of the recently discovered correspondence between the Egyptian Foreign Office under the Pharaohs and the tributary kings of Canaan, containing their appeals for aid against an invasion from the desert, interpreted by experts to have been that of the army of Joshua. Any attempt to put these singular documents before the public is welcome, from their great historical and scriptural interest.

Sephora; or, Rome and Jerusalem. Adapted from the French of Adrien Lemercier by the Rev. JAMES DONOHUE, LL.D. Brooklyn. 1893.—The relations of the Jews to Rome, as well as those between the various sections of Jewish society in the generation before the Christian era, are vividly placed before us in this tale of the fortunes of the high-born Hebrew maiden whose name gives the title to the book. It is no less interesting as a tale than valuable as a historical picture of a time full of striking incident, and most momentous from its bearing on subsequent history.

Mère Gilette. By the Author of "An Old Marquise." London: Catholic Truth Society. 1893.—This little idyll of Norman peasant life has a pathos and charm that ought to win for it wide circulation. The sorrows of a mother have seldom been portrayed with a more tender and touching sympathy than in the story of the last and crowning trial of "Mère Gilette," the protagonist of the rustic drama. For, after death had robbed her of all her dear ones, a still heavier affliction befalls her in the desertion of her one surviving son Jean, the prop of her age until weaned from religion, duty, and even love, by the influence of bad companions. The temptation comes in his case from the disseminators of Socialism in his native village, who persuade him to join their ranks and abandon all old associations for the career of an agitator. His subsequent misfortunes and the thrilling crisis which ultimately leads to his reclamation, will well repay the study of our readers.

Sainte Marie Madeleine. 24 mo. pp. 96. Paris: Téqui.—In a few short pages the Marquess de Laubespin resumes all that the Holy Evangelists and some of the greatest doctors of the Church tell us concerning St. Mary Magdalen. The little book will form a serviceable addition to an ascetical library, and should inspire with confidence those who, like Magdalen, have lived away from God. The numerous illustrations by Mlle. Maillot are pious and artistic.

Histoire de Saint Dominique, fondateur de l'Ordre des Fr. Prêcheurs. Par M. A. F. DRANE. Traduit de l'Anglais par M. l'Abbé CARDON. 8vo, pp. viii.-492. Paris: P. Lethielleux.—It is not often that French Catholic literature borrows from English writers. Considering, however, the merits of the work before us, we cannot be surprised at the standard English life of the holy patriarch St. Dominic being brought within reach of all French-speaking Catholics. Of the book itself we need not speak, as it was noticed at some length in the DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1891. In the French translation we miss the beautifully executed illustrations which add no little interest to the original. May we also be permitted to point out that the passage concerning the antiquity of the Rosary, quoted at p. 133 as from "Chron. S. Agnet." of Thomas à Kempis, is not to be found in that work of the pious author of "De Imitatione Christi"?

The Life of St. Peter Claver, S.J., the Apostle of the Negroes. Edited by a Father of St. Joseph's Society, Epiphany Apostolic College. Cr. 8vo, pp. 264. Philadelphia: H. L. Kilner & Co.—As the object of St. Joseph's Society "is to evangelise the races of men alien as yet to the Gospel," and especially the negroes, it is but natural that the missionaries of that Society should take as one of their chief models and patrons St. Peter Claver. Is he not called the "Apostle of the Negroes"? Did he not for forty years meet the incoming slave ship? And did he not sign himself "Peter, the Slave of the Negroes for ever"? The volume before us is mainly a reprint of the Oratorian life of the Saint, and, therefore, well known to English readers. There is, however, an appendix on "St. Joseph's Society," and we heartily join with the editor of this Life, Rev. J. R. Slaterry, in praying that the spirit of St. Peter Claver may fill many American youths with a thirst for the salvation of their black countrymen!

Life of Mère Marie Thérèse, Foundress and first Superior-General of the Daughters of the Cross.—By a Daughter of the Cross. Crown 8vo, pp. 302. London: Burns & Oates.—In these

latter days the Catholic Netherlands seem truly a *terra sanctorum*. The names of Fr. Damien, Fr. Charley, the Passionist, and many others, will at once come before our mind. The life of one of these servants of God has recently been published by Burns & Oates. The book is no dry and meagre narrative. The personality of the "Foundress of the Daughters of the Cross" stands out in rich and attractive tones. "In this volume," says His Eminence Cardinal Vaughan, "we are able to follow the genesis of a Catholic religious congregation in every stage of its formation. We are brought into contact with the purity of thought, the fervour of feeling, the loftiness of aim, the generosity of self-immolation through which the Holy Ghost works out, in sweet and loving co-operation with the human conscience and heart, the enlistment and enrolment of souls for a special purpose of which the world has need. . . . A further and more personal interest will attach to this work from the fact that the Congregation of the Daughters of the Cross, of which it is the history, has endeared itself to English-speaking Catholics by a record of long and faithful service in England and in India."

Bibliographies Evangéliques. Par Mgr. GAUME. Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 532. Paris: Gaume et Cie.—The name and writing of Mgr. Gaume need no recommendation. Even among Protestants they seem to be well thought of, for only a few days ago the *Church Times* advised one of its correspondents to "get Gaume's *Manuel des Confesseurs*" for fuller information on some doubtful points of conscience. In the volume just issued by the publishers of the late learned prelate, short biographies are given of all those who are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Canonical Epistles. We have here all that is known of the disciples, companions and helpers of the Twelve in the propagation of the Gospel. The families and the holy women, whose houses served as meeting-places or were converted into Christian churches, are not forgotten. Stephen, Gamaliel, Titus, Timothy, Silas, Tabitha, the Centurion, are not so well known as those who are mentioned in the Gospels, and yet the former no less than the latter deserve our gratitude and our admiration. They also helped in spreading the Gospel and in fighting against paganism. To all students and lovers of Holy Scripture we strongly recommend this biographical dictionary.

Le Zèle Sacerdotal. Par le R. P. DE LAAGE, S.J. Paris: Téqui. 1892.—A little hand-book of advice to a Priest on his private and professional life. It seems characterised by simplicity and common sense.

La Dévotion au Sacré-Cœur de Jésus. Par le R. P. JEAN-BAPTISTE TERRIEN, S.J. Paris: Lethielleux.—The Professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Catholic Institute of Paris has published in this volume a comprehensive treatise on the theology of the devotion to the Sacred Heart. He does not enter upon the strictly devotional or practical aspects of this modern development of the *cultus* of our Divine Redeemer. Père Terrien writes with all the clearness of a Frenchman, and there are few dogmatic and liturgical points which he does not satisfactorily dispose of. Perhaps he gives us rather too much of the physiological controversy. But he brings out clearly what it is very important to understand—viz., that the Church is committed to no physiological theory, and that her decrees altogether prescind from the functions of the heart in the human organism. His observations on the “representations” of the Sacred Heart would have gained in interest if he had studied, or reproduced Father Nilles’s study of, the chronological order of the original revelations. He says nothing about the much-debated “twelfth promise,” although it appears in the first Life of Blessed Margaret Mary, by Mgr. Sanquet.

L'Âme Sainte embrasée d'un ardent Amour pour Jésus et Marie. Par DOM G. M. FULCONIS, de l'ordre des Chartreux. Traduit par M. l'Abbé A. FOUROT. Montreuil-sur-Mer: Imprimerie Notre Dame des Prés, 1892.—The good Carthusian who wrote this book of mingled meditation, spiritual reading, and devout practice for every day of the year was an Italian, but died at Montreuil-sur-Mer in 1888. We are told by the Abbé Fourot that two editions of the French translation have already been sold. For pious souls, whether religious or in the world, it certainly offers daily spiritual refreshment, well adapted to nourish the spiritual life. It is varied, suited to the different seasons, and not too long drawn out. The value of this edition is increased by a good index.

Les Miracles de N. S. Jésus-Christ, au point de vue topographique, exégétique, et mystique. Par l'Abbé CANDELIER. Paris: Téqui. 1893.—The exegesis of this volume on the Miracles seems sound, and the exposition is full of piety. Perhaps the topographical treatment might be a little more picturesque. But, after all, the work justifies its title.

The Art and Book Company have some very choice small publications which they have recently issued. **The Imitation of Christ** (323 pp., 6d.), together with **The Following of Christ** (204 pp., 4d.), only differ in so far as the former have practical reflections and a

prayer after each chapter, but such additions are of great service to many readers.—**The Spiritual Combat** (180 pp., 4d.) is a very old and ever-welcome friend, much valued when to practise the Faith was truly an heroic act in this country.—**The Hidden Treasure** (1893. 56 pp., 1s.) gives several excellent methods of hearing Mass with profit together, a rule of life and preparation for Confession and Communion, all from the pen of St. Leonard, of Port-Maurice.—A very capital book is **A Book of Novenas in Honour of God and His Blessed Saints**. (1892. 216 pp., 1s. 6d.) Many great Feasts of the year, those special to Our Lady, together with quite a copious choice to the Saints, find a place in this very useful compilation. Those devoted to Novenas will be amply rewarded in possessing themselves of this book.—**Short and Familiar Answers** (261 pp., 1s. 6d.), in bearing the name of the late Mgr. Segur, is a guarantee of its utility to the general public, not confined to ourselves. We see here what religion is and what it is not, and the result is to apprehend Catholicity in all its ennobling power.

Parochi Vade Mecum (60 pp., 6d.) will prove to be quite a boon to priests, containing, as it does in the smallest compass, just what a priest wants in order to visit the sick and dying. It fits well into a waistcoat pocket, and is strongly bound in cloth, and is well printed. The Prayers for a Departing Soul are all in English. A more convenient book it would be difficult to find or publish.

Devotion to St. Anthony of Padua (by Rev. Clementinus Dugmann, O.S.F. Third edition. A. Waldteufel, San Francisco. 20 pp.) contains in a small space a sketch of the life of St. Anthony, of his picture, the origin of the nine Tuesdays in his honour, with the Novena, and, finally, a Prayer to the Saint to recover lost or stolen goods. As many believe in St. Anthony's powers, and with just reason, this little publication cannot fail to be of interest and use.

All Souls' Forget-me-not (Washbourne. 1893. 481 pp.), edited and translated from the German by Canon Moser, of Peterborough, is, for its size, quite a bulky book. It is a manual of many devotions applicable to the Holy Souls, and as such, likely to be welcomed by many who love by any means to try and relieve friends who may be suffering in Purgatory. Quite a feature in this book is the pious treatment of the meaning of such flowers as the Carnation, Tulip, Iris or Sword Lily, Rose, Lychnis, Marigold, and, finally, the Forget-me-not. The Office for, and Burial of, the Dead, in both Latin and English, complete a very useful and very Catholic publication.

The Manual of Prayers for Youth (Catholic Truth Society, 1893, 256 pp.) has a special interest for Catholics now, in that this new edition was edited by the late most-revered and most-lamented Father Morris, S.J. The various ways of hearing Mass stand forth as a feature of this book, and the Ordinary and Canon receive here a faithful translation. Hymns, specially selected for each day of the week, form also another feature. The print and arrangement are equally admirable, and the Re-Imprimatur of his Eminence Cardinal Vaughan makes any further recommendation absolutely unnecessary.

Benziger Brothers are not behind in a few nice publications within the reach of all. **The Manual of the Holy Family** (1893, Rev. Bonaventura Hammer, O.S.F., 526 pp.) contains everything that a member could possibly want, together with a very ample prayer-book to satisfy the most fastidious. The print is very good and clear.—**The New Month of Mary** (1893, 141 pp. 2s.), and **The New Month of St. Joseph** (1893, 155 pp. 2s.), both have the merit of being new and short in their daily treatment. If the price is somewhat high the result is pleasing and practical when time is all important.

The Month of the Holy Angels (1893, 153 pp.) is a worthy companion to the two former, and will be an equal help when short and pithy meditations are desired. An exhortation and example barely take up three small pages of any one day in the above three "months."—**The Flowers of the Passion** (1893, 241 pp.) gives us many thoughts gathered from letters of St. Paul of the Cross, in which Our Lord's Passion is shown to be our real friend in helping us through all difficulties of life. The book is as neat as the printing is good.

Books Received.

- Avis et Réflexions sur les Devoirs de l'État religieux.** Edit. Abbé Dufour. 8vo, pp. 408. Paris: H. Walzer.
- Conférences de Notre Dame.** Les Devoirs envers Dieu. Mgr. d'Hulst. 8vo, pp. 322. Paris: C. Poussielgue.
- Two Ancient Treatises on Purgatory.** Rev. J. Mumford, S.J., Rev. R. Thimelby, S.J. 8vo, pp. 308. London: Burns & Oates.
- Purgatory.** Rev. F. X. Schouppe, S.J. 8vo, pp. 312. London: Burns & Oates.
- Explanations of the Gospels and of Catholic Worship, from Italian of Angelo Cagnola.** Trans. by Rev. A. Lambert and Rev. R. Brennan. 8vo, pp. 368. New York: Benziger Bros.; London: Burns & Oates.
- Skeleton Sermons.** Canon J. B. Bagshawe. 8vo, pp. 262. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
- Witnesses to the Unseen.** Wilfrid Ward. 8vo, pp. 309. London: Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d.
- A Short Proof that Greek was the Language of Christ.** By Professor Roberts, D.D. 8vo, pp. 116. London and Paisley: Alexander Gardner.
- The Truth of the Christian Religion.** By Dr. Julius Kaftan. Trans. by G. Ferries. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 357-431. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- The Revelation and the Record.** By Rev. J. McGregor, D.D. 8vo, pp. 265. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- The Teaching of Jesus.** Hans Henrich Wendt. Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 417. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 10s. 6d.
- Cambridge Sermons.** Edit. C. H. Prior, M.A. 8vo, pp. 244. London: Methuen & Co.
- Méditations sur la Vie de N.S.J.C.** Par le R. P. Meschler, S.J. 8vo, pp. 576. Paris: Lethielleux.

- The Lights in Prayer.** R.R.P.P. Luis de la Puente, Paul Segneri. 8vo, pp. 332. London: Burns & Oates.
- The Spiritual Letters of Fénelon.** 8vo, pp. 571. London: St. Anselm's Society.
- New Month of the Holy Angels.** St. Francis de Sales. 12mo, pp. 152. New York: Benziger Bros.
- Angeli Dei.** Dr. Joseph Keller. 8vo, pp. 182. London: R. Washbourne.
- A Book of Novenas.** Very Rev. J. B. Pagani. 8vo, pp. 216. London and Leamington: Art and Book Co.
- Manual of Prayers for Youth.** Rev. J. Morris, S.J. 8vo, pp. 256. London: Catholic Truth Society.
- Mass in Honour of St. Brigid (Tonic Sol-fa).** By Joseph Seymour, Mus.B. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 4d.
- La Famille Chrétienne.** Par le R. P. de Laage, S.J. 8vo, pp. 356. Paris: Téqui.
- Les Cinquante-deux Serviteurs de Dieu.** Adrien Launay. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 354-344. Paris: Téqui.
- The Story of St. Stanislaus Kotska.** Edit. by Rev. F. Goldie, S.J. 3rd edit. 8vo, pp. 256. London: Burns & Oates.
- Lourdes: Yesterday, To-day, and To-morrow.** Daniel Barbé. Transl. by Alice Meynell. (Coloured Illustrations). 8vo, pp. 116. London: Burns & Oates.
- Life of the Venerable Joseph B. Cottolengo.** Dom. P. Gastaldi. 8vo, pp. 246. London: Burns & Oates.
- Abnormal Man.** By Arthur MacDonald. 8vo, pp. 448. Washington: Government Printing Press.
- Darwinianism, Work and Workmen.** By J. H. Stirling, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 358. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Europe, 476-928.** By Charles Oman, M.A. Period I. 8vo, pp. 532. London: Rivington, Percival & Co. 7s. 6d.
- Some Popular Historical Fallacies Examined.** Part I. By the Author of "The Religion of St. Augustine." 8vo, pp. 46. London: Burns & Oates.
- The Portuguese Royal Patronage.** 8vo, pp. 93. Bombay: East India Press.

The Patriot Parliament of 1689. By Thomas Davis. Edited by Sir C. G. Duffy. 8vo, lxxxix.-172. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1s.

Une Negociation inconnue entre Berwick et Marlborough. A. Legrelle. 8vo, pp. 101. Paris: Librairie Cotillon.

The Influence of Dean Colet upon the Reformation of the English Church. Rev. J. H. Lupton. 8vo, pp. 68. London: George Bell & Sons. 1s. 6d.

The Morrow after the Sabbath. 8vo, pp. 72. London: Mowbray & Co. 1s.

Pour Amuser les Petits. Coloured Illustrations. 4to, pp. 48. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie.

Songs in Spring-time, &c. John C. Grant. 2nd edit. 8vo, pp. 115. London: E. W. Allen.

The Last Day of the Carnival. J. Kostromitin. Trans. from Russian. 8vo, pp. 185. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1s. 6d.

Bogland Studies. Jane Barlow. 8vo, pp. 187. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.

The Home of the Dragon. By Anna Catharina. 8vo, pp. 223. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

Dream Life and Real Life. Ralph Iron. 8vo, pp. 93. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1s. 6d.

Claude Lightfoot. By Rev. Fr. Finn, S.J. 8vo, pp. 245. New York: Benziger Bros.; London: Burns & Oates.

The Need and Use of Getting the Irish Literature into the English Tongue. By Rev. Stopford A. Brooke. 8vo, pp. 66. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

The Success of Patrick Desmond. By Maurice F. Egan. 8vo, pp. 418. Notre Dame: Indiana, U.S.A.

Poetical Works of Lageniensis. Very Rev. Canon J. O'Hanlon. 8vo, pp. 328. Dublin: J. Duffy & Co.

The Household Poetry Book. Edited by Aubrey de Vere. 8vo, pp. 308. London: Burns & Oates.

